

HAR DAYAL



Har Dayal, circa 1930

HAR DAYAL

**Hindu Revolutionary
and Rationalist**

EMILY C. BROWN



MANOHAR

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**TO THE COLONEL AND HIS LADY,
WHO SOMETIMES HAD THEIR DOUBTS**

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PREFACE

HAR DAYAL never made a truer statement than when he said, "The relation of the Man to His Message is a vexed question to study." Had I known how vexed, I might never have undertaken Har Dayal's life story, and as it unfolded, I was confronted with the virtual impossibility of satisfactorily explaining — and evaluating — either the man or his message.

I am not even sure how to answer the question, "Do you like him?" I can say yes, and I can say no. I have found him heroic, incisive, imaginative, exciting, and provocative; I have also found him selfish, devious, petty, and pedestrian. But no matter what, I think him important. He has much to say to all citizens, as well as to his fellow countrymen, and he should not be forgotten. He is there in the background not only of India's struggle for national independence, but in the continuing effort to find integrity in a world that can but seem hostile to much of what India cherishes and reveres.

What began as an academic exercise, under the watchful eye of J. Michael Mahar, of the University of Arizona, has taken me once around the world, as well as to London and back, and again to India. It has taken me into archives and libraries that I never knew existed. It has given me the opportunity to talk and correspond with people on three continents, and to reach into files long since closed.

Donald Lammers, with his Stanford background, first called Har Dayal to my attention in files , remarking that this Hindu intellectual had been an active propagandist for India's independence in the United States and that he might be a good man to know more about. I began to look for Har Dayal's name in the indexes of books on Indian nationalism, and I was puzzled that so little mention was made of his activities or of the doings of any of the so-called "extremists," for that matter.

Things began to open up when John Spellman, who had done some work in a field involving Har Dayal's revolutionary activities, led me to Horst Krüger, deputy director of the Institute for Oriental Studies in East Berlin. He had meticulously recorded Har Dayal's activities in Germany

during World War I, using foreign office documents as his source. But I had yet to make contact with those who could tell me, in such detail, of the American, English, French, Indian, Swiss, Swedish, Hawaiian, and Martinique episodes of Har Dayal's life.

A major breakthrough came when I wrote to Arthur Upham Pope, who had known Har Dayal in Berkeley. Although he preferred not to discuss his own association with the Hindu nationalist, he told me that he had mentioned my letter to Mrs. Van Wyck Brooks and that I had her permission to use Har Dayal's correspondence with her late husband. These letters were invaluable because they told, in his own handwriting, of Har Dayal's preoccupations, ideas, ambitions, and attitudes as he moved from place to place and from stance to stance over a 27-year span.

The first overseas trip I took was to London and the India Office Library, where, with the help of Joan C. Lancaster of the library's staff, I had located the 75-volume record of the trial involving both Indians and Germans who were plotting against Britain during World War I. Har Dayal was not a defendant, but his activities were the dominant theme. Although the trial had been held in San Francisco, a fire in the courthouse had later destroyed the only copy of the record on deposit in the United States. The India Office Library also made available to me the intelligence reports on Har Dayal's movements on the continent as well as in England.

It was five years after that before I could get to India, but I had written to the National Archives in New Delhi and eventually received what they could send. There had been a delay of more than a year while the records I had asked for were cleared by the appropriate ministries. S. V. Desika Char handled all of this for me and then hired the typists to copy the material I needed. When I did get to India, the problem of clearance had been solved, and Miss Dhan Keswani worked with me to find what had been missed. Thus the India story.

Information about the Swedish interlude came to me in a curious way. I wrote to the embassy in Washington, D.C., asking for any suggestions as to how I might find out about Har Dayal's activities in Sweden. One of the officers suggested that I write to Docent Tomas Hammar of Stockholm University, who had done extensive work on foreigners who had been granted asylum in Sweden. Yes, he had a few notes from official records, but, more important, his mother and father had known Har Dayal personally while he was there and had later visited his home in London. Gillis and Elisabet Hammar were most generous in sharing their memories.

There was more to learn about London than the Hammars could tell me. A colleague, Bernard Silberman, suggested that I place an advertisement in the *Times* of London. This I did, and as you read the book you will see the reason I am so grateful to those who answered the adver-

tisement. Two noted scholars of Buddhism, Edward Conze and Sir Ralph Turner, also generously shared their views of Har Dayal with me. It was H. Moyse-Bartlett, secretary of the School of Oriental and African Studies in London, who made contact with Sir Ralph.

There were dead ends and leads that did not materialize, but it was a fascinating search, climaxed when I was finally able to make an appointment to interview Gobind Behari Lal, a cousin of Har Dayal's wife, who had been a part of the revolutionary movement in San Francisco and had remained in the United States to become science editor of the Hearst newspapers. He had visited Har Dayal in England, and he had been with him in the United States just before his death. It is Dr. Lal who gave me the living Har Dayal.

Later, in Delhi, I met other members of Har Dayal's family, notably his widow, Sundar, whom I was able to interview, along with their daughter Shanti, and her husband Bishan Narain, one of India's most prominent jurists. I also met one of Har Dayal's granddaughters, Malti Nehru, the daughter-in-law of B. K. Nehru, whom many Americans knew when he was ambassador to the United States. It was Malti who made available to me the only photograph of Har Dayal the family had left after they were forced to flee Lahore at the time of the partition. All of the other mementoes of Har Dayal's life had to be sacrificed. Har Dayal's daughter, Shanti Narain, died in made but her mother Sundar continued to live in Delhi with a nephew of her husband, Rajeshwar Dayal.

In addition to Har Dayal's family, I talked with Dharmavira, who has since published his own biography of Har Dayal. Like the others, he was generous in sharing his research. I also spoke with Tara Chand, who had married Sundar's sister. I had read his books on the history of nationalism, little knowing that he was Har Dayal's brother-in-law. From meeting them all, I began to see the workings of not only the family, but the caste network among these Indians of high status and accomplishment.

I have, of course, acknowledged but have not footnoted the comments of those with whom I talked. They appear in the book in the words in which they were spoken, thanks to the addition of the magnetic tape to the tools of the researcher.

Just when I thought I had every conceivable scrap of evidence on the life of Har Dayal, N. Gerald Barrier wrote that he had found some correspondence I might find of interest. I was sure the letters must be duplicates of those I'd already found, but in fact almost all of them proved new to me — hence the Frieda Hauswirth imbroglio.

To all who helped I am grateful: to Lui Patel in New Delhi, who kept up with my continuing demands; to Janna Tucker, whose legal training was invaluable in dealing with the *Record of Trial*; to Rosa Kirkman of

the Stanford Archives; and to all the others who are a part of the book. Then there was my typist, Bev Kollman, who, in more than 500 pages of typescript, only transposed letters once in dealing with the unfamiliar Indian names.

I express my thanks to the University of Northern Iowa for providing not only financial support but released time so that I could write. And I recognize the contribution of Lee Patricia Douglas and the late Margaret Fullerton who helped in the editing of the manuscript in its final stages. Finally, I thank the staff of the University of Arizona Press, and especially Marshall Townsend and Karen Thure, for their skill and cooperation in projecting the book into published form.

E.C.B.

HAR DAYAL

TRANSLITERATION AND PRONUNCIATION NOTE

For those unfamiliar with the Indian languages, a line or two about transliteration might help to explain the variety of spellings of the same word. I have generally spelled out the compound consonants, but some whose writings I have quoted have not. The same holds for the *ri* vowel. Thus you might see Krishna, or Kṛṣṇa. Aspiration in Hindi is indicated by adding an *h* to the consonant. This is often omitted, however, so you will see both *Hindustan* and *Hindusthan*. These are a few of the variants; vowels may appear differently, too.

For instance, the short *a* is pronounced as the *u* in *but*, and is sometimes transliterated as a *u*. It is inherent in every consonant and is sometimes included in transliteration and sometimes not. Dharmavira, for example, earlier spelled his name Dharm Vir. I have usually included the short *a*, the major exception being *Ghadr*, which means revolt or mutiny, and was the name of Har Dayal's newspaper and movement. Others spell it *Gadar* or *Ghadar*, but *Ghadr* was the transliteration Har Dayal preferred. Pronounced in English, it is *gudder*, with an initial aspiration, as the *h* after the *g* indicates.

INTRODUCTION

THE MAN AND HIS MESSAGE

HAR DAYAL'S LIFE not only brings into focus Indian experiments with revolutionary techniques and ideologies in the early decades of the twentieth century, but reveals in the thinking of one man the view of a modern India which now prevails. This serves to emphasize the rather curious fact that once independence from Britain was achieved, those in control of the Republic of India did not reflect either the political or economic philosophy of Mohandas Gandhi, the man who captured the imagination of the world and became the symbol of *swaraj*, or self-rule.

Jawaharlal Nehru, India's first prime minister, paid lip service to Gandhian policies and wore his mantle proudly as Gandhi's selected successor, but the regime he instituted bore little relation to the state which Gandhi envisioned, one which would remain uncontaminated by industrialization and which would depend for its political cohesion on a high sense of peculiarly Hindu moral and social responsibility. It would, in short, be a state isolated both in time and intent from the world around it. The republic which was established, however, embodied Western political forms, some of which had earlier been espoused by both the constitutional moderates and the bomb-throwing extremists, as these polarized groups were called. Not more than a handful of these pioneer nationalists are remembered, although they may later be more clearly identified and their influence on the political and economic philosophy of India may be better defined. In the meantime, they remain almost completely overshadowed by the Gandhians or have been relegated to a minor position as representing a "phase" of nationalism, when they more surely directed India along the path which she has actually taken than did the Mahatma.

Har Dayal was one of these non-Gandhian figures who has to be considered, even though his participation in the nationalist movement was sporadic and short lived. Gobind Behari Lal, the kinsman who was closely associated with Har Dayal in the nationalist movement, defined him as a "synthetic thinker, anticipating Gandhi and Nehru in many ways," and pointed out that Har Dayal had early called for the three R's of modern civilization: "renaissance (intellectual), reformation (of social institutions), and revolution (political-economic)."

Known primarily for his role in the formation of the *Ghadr* party in California in 1913, Har Dayal had, however, been in and out of extremist politics since 1908 when, as a student at Oxford, he aligned himself with active resistance to British control of India. Rejecting all things Western, he returned to India to gather a group of young men around him, his purpose being to alert them to the degradation heaped upon them by the British. At the same time, his diatribes — against Christianity, Western law, education, and anything else imported by the Englishman — filled the columns of the nationalist newspapers of the Punjab — the area with which Har Dayal will always be identified. Although he was content to blast with words, there were others who favored dynamite. When actual violence broke out, there was a tightening of police surveillance, and it seemed advisable for Har Dayal to return to Europe. He was never to set foot on Indian soil again.

In Paris, he continued his screed, under the aegis of the expatriate Indians who had found the French more receptive to their presence than the British. After about a year of this, Har Dayal turned his back on nationalist activities and in 1910 showed up in the United States. Shuttling between the two great campuses of Berkeley and Stanford, he continued to sound his alarms by contributing to Indian periodicals. This time, in a volte-face, he warned young Indians against clasping the chains of their own culture too tightly around them and urged them to breathe the fresh air of Western intellectual, as well as political, freedom. Simultaneously, Har Dayal addressed himself to the dissident Sikh agricultural and lumber mill workers who were feeling the pressure of American racism and economic exclusion. He convinced them that their real enemy was Britain, not the United States. So provocative were Har Dayal's exhortations in the nationalist newspaper he founded in San Francisco that literally thousands of these militant, turbaned Punjabis were inspired to return to India (carrying their own weapons) in the early years of World War I in an attempt to stage an armed revolution against the British, while regiments which would normally have been in India were otherwise engaged on European battlefields.

It is in this area of mass appeal and mass manipulation that Har Dayal must be seriously considered. Although an elitist in many ways, he was able to communicate successfully with the common man of India, as attested to by his ability to incite the Sikhs to action, albeit more precipitate than he had anticipated. Har Dayal spoke in an idiom that was comprehensible to the ignorant and downtrodden; more than that, he spoke in what Robert I. Crane calls "the authentic idiom of India . . . that could reach directly to the masses because it contained much of an assertion of the older, pre-European value system."¹

It was exactly this success in communication which attracted the attention of the British, who urged the American immigration authorities to act. Accordingly, in the early part of 1914, Har Dayal was charged with being an undesirable alien and placed under arrest. Forfeiting bond, he next appeared in Switzerland and was then persuaded to join a group of fellow countrymen in Berlin, who, under the guidance of the German foreign office, were also planning armed revolution. Part of the Har Dayal legend is that he served as a link between the Ghadr revolutionaries in San Francisco, India, Thailand, Indonesia, the Philippines, and China and the planners in Berlin. Actually, this was not the case, as all the groups had but limited knowledge of each other's activities and, consequently, were working at cross purposes most of the time. Security was almost nonexistent among the revolutionaries so that the British — thanks to their capable informers — were able to thwart the suborning of the native troops in India and a takeover of India by force. All of this led to a sensational "conspiracy" trial in San Francisco at the end of 1918 in which both Indians and Germans, working against the British from the California base, were tried and convicted.

Not so much because of disillusionment at the failure of the attempted revolution, but more, Har Dayal said, in fear of and contempt for Prussian aims in Asia, Har Dayal arranged to leave Germany and went to Sweden where, in the waning months of the war, he aligned himself on the side of the British Empire. He held that India must first move into the twentieth century before self-rule could be meaningful and that the necessary moral, spiritual, and intellectual transformation could best take place under British protection and suzerainty. Although his sincerity was challenged by many (including the British) and he was reviled as a traitor by others, he was indifferent to such charges, feeling that the program he outlined would prove best, in the long run, for India and Indians.

If would be impossible to consider Har Dayal outside of the political and intellectual climate in which he lived. Those were exciting times, both in India and abroad, as the revolutionaries and British moved and counter-moved to establish their respective positions. The propagandists — and Har Dayal was notable among these — were brazen in denunciation of British oppression, and impassioned in their demands that the people of India arise and throw off their shackles. But except for the overseas Sikhs, those whom they sought to arouse were timid and tentative in their plans and operations. The agitators, for the most part, stayed safely in the background, and the few who tried to implement action were tragically inept in achieving what their "sacrifices" intended. The rhetoric of revolution was garbled, with alternate appeals to the European revolutions of the nineteenth century, the ongoing Russian revolution, and an almost

nonexistent past heritage of Indian military glory in which "heroes" were idolized as gods. As a consequence, societies were formed, modeled either on Mazzini's Young Italy or communist cells, but they were infused with religious, not political, dedication.

In India, and all over the world, the revolutionaries worked vigorously but ineffectively to produce a militant response to British overlordship. But, as has been indicated, they were more often frustrated by the turncoats in their own ranks and a diffused leadership than by repressive acts of the British, who used their small but well-informed intelligence network to scotch the plans for revolution. The British were also able to isolate the propagandists from the masses either by removing them personally from the scene or by imposing a rigid censorship. They were assisted by the fact that only a limited number of the Indians could be reached by printed materials. In the meantime, swift punishment was meted out to the terrorists. Acts of violence by the Indians, because they engendered fear of reprisal, were more apt to terrorize the native population than the British, who phlegmatically replaced assassinated officials and methodically tightened security controls.

It is not surprising that Har Dayal and many like him retired early and disenchanted from the nationalist scene to expend their energies in other directions. Most of them retreated into their own religiously oriented intellectual tradition. The three men with whom Har Dayal is most closely identified — Savarkar, Bhai Parmanand, and Rash Behari Basu — became prime movers, for example, in the Hindu Mahasabha, a militant extremist organization, one of whose members assassinated Gandhi. Violence was thus brought full circle. By contrast, Har Dayal sought his answers to the failure of the extremist movement in the rational tradition of the West.

The period of intellectual development outside of India into which Har Dayal emerged was equally as exciting as the political one within his homeland. He extended his education beyond the conservative classrooms of an English university to embrace the various "radical" movements of his time. In so doing, he did not lose track of India's problems, but saw them, rather, in the perspective of universal history. Most of his peers concentrated only on the importation of Western political and economic ideas, but Har Dayal believed that it was more than political institutions and technology that gave the British their advantage. His "propaganda" turned dramatically from abuse to concepts of regeneration. He felt that the reformation of society must begin with the reorientation of the individual and that social institutions had to be fashioned to serve the needs of mankind. Much of this kind of thinking is incorporated in the expressed aims of India which were written into the 1950 constitution.

Gandhi also grasped the relationship between Western values and institutions, but wanted neither. The answer for India, Gandhi preached,

was a strengthening of Indian values to achieve an Indian India. This seemed a magic solution to those who were unable to accept so drastic a change as Har Dayal recommended. The masses were thus brought into the nationalist movement on Gandhian terms and independence was won from a Britain not too unwilling to let go. Gandhism, however, lies dormant while the government of free India, in its massive program of modernization, has attempted to fashion what Har Dayal repeatedly called for — an India in consonance with what he identified as the “time-spirit” of the twentieth century.

As a personality, Har Dayal is elusive. What has intrigued most of those who knew him were the seemingly abrupt changes in his actions and attitudes which occurred as he moved from a militant nationalist — and baiter par excellence of British pretensions — to a pacifist and internationalist who embraced not only the ideals but the homilies of the society he had once scorned and reviled.

One way to explain this is to say, as did Dharmavira, that Har Dayal did not really change, that his “inner spirit” remained the same, and that his goal was always to seek the answer to the question, “How best can I help myself by helping my brethren?” But even Dharmavira was forced to admit that there were different manifestations of this inner spirit, which he called “personalities.” There were three, he said. The first became evident when Har Dayal was still a student in India, and this was the spirit of love of humanity. The spirit then changed its form to one of love for Hindu nationalism, and finally it became one of “the love of freedom for Hindusthan . . . love of freedom, love of Hindusthan equally.”² By this he meant a commitment to a Hindu state.

Dharmavira denies any significant transformation in Har Dayal and identifies him with his Indian heritage in its totality. This is the theme of his full-length biography. Everything else, he said, was a “ruse” to throw the British off his scent so that he could return to India and align himself with the forces represented by the Hindu Mahasabha. Gobind Behari Lal, Tara Chand, and the other members of Har Dayal’s family deny this and say that when Har Dayal spoke out for the reconversion of Muslims and the Hindu brotherhood — major tenets of Hindu fundamentalism — these were expediencies, aberrations. “The whole problem is what we mean by ‘Hindu’,” says Lal. “For Har Dayal, a Hindu was anybody who wanted an Indian national state — not a Hindu state, but India as it is today, a national state. The revolution gave this meaning to the word; there can be no other. Har Dayal did not care what God a man worshipped. He was a rationalist, a modernist, an intellectual.” As to this last, all seem to agree. As a young man of today’s India put it, “All my life I have heard that Har Dayal was the brainiest fellow ever to come out of the Punjab.”

Another attempt to analyze and classify Har Dayal was made by Anup Singh, who received his education in the United States (M.A. and Ph.D. from Harvard) and remained to lecture widely on Indian problems. Among his books is a biography of Nehru, published in 1939.³ Singh met Har Dayal in the last few months of his life and was enormously impressed. He quoted Har Dayal as having said that three D's had always guided his life: "Discipline, Development, and Dedication." According to Singh, Har Dayal's Ghadr movement failed because "India's political pulse was then beating very feebly," or because "in the inscrutable scheme of things, perhaps, India was destined to vindicate the efficacy of Non-Violence in settling larger contests." This "deeply gratified" Har Dayal, Singh said, pointing to the fact that he had died a pacifist. Like Gobind Behari Lal, Singh went on to say that "Gandhi did not build on nothing. Har Dayal and his co-workers were legitimate precursors who laid the cornerstone."

For Singh, there were four phases in Har Dayal's life: first, his "intransigent nationalism" which resulted in his becoming a "fanatic protagonist" of Indian culture; this was followed by an enthusiasm for the West; then its rejection when the "holocaust of 1914 . . . outraged his moral sensibilities," and, finally, a "balanced view," brought on by maturity. Har Dayal always admired India's simplicity and spirituality, Singh said, and admired as well the versatility and richness of European culture. Har Dayal felt that the East had much to offer the West, and on the eve of World War II, he exhorted Indians to send "Pilgrims of Peace to Europe on fire." He was a man of genius, not merely a man of talent, Singh concluded: "A lesser man, whose youthful hope of liberating his motherland was dashed to pieces, an exile for thirty years, would have ended in disillusionment, cynicism and bitterness. But not Har Dayal. He marched on to a still nobler goal — liberation of all mankind."⁴

For Har Dayal, the single and continuing theme in his life story was his search for a "philosophical synthesis" of East and West, which would chart the course to the moral, spiritual, and intellectual perfection of man. His was to be a world of love, mutual trust, and respect among all people, where colonialism and nationalism would both disappear in a true internationalism of peace and prosperity for man in his beatitude. He died just months before the world crashed under the weight of Hitlerian hate and racial arrogance. And his death was, perhaps, a blessing in disguise, said M. N. Roy, himself a man who turned from militant nationalism to become one of India's most prominent communists, only to discard Marxism for radical humanism, as he called it. According to Roy, "Successful nationalism is not particularly grateful to its heroic and martyred pioneers who today live in obscurity as embittered old men."⁵

EASTERN YOUTH AND WESTERN STUDENT 1

HAR DAYAL was born in 1884, the year which saw the resignation of the Marquess of Ripon, the choice of both Victoria and Gladstone to “redeem the pledge” which the queen had made to the Indians in 1858, when control of India was transferred from the East India Company to the Crown. Among other things, this “pledge” included a declaration that her subjects “of whatever creed” be “admitted to offices in our services,” were they qualified by “education, ability, and integrity.” She went on to express her “earnest desire” that industry be stimulated, public works be promoted, and India be administered for the benefit of Indians. She concluded by saying of her new subjects that “their prosperity will be our strength, in their contentment our security, and in their gratitude our best reward.”¹

For the Indians — those, at any rate, who might find their futures in Victoria’s service — “a brighter vision presented itself.”² There were high hopes of fulfillment of the dream of restoring India to the Indians, or at least of providing them with some measure of governmental participation. Up until Ripon’s appointment, those Indians who had been roused to nationalist activity had made little headway. Queen Victoria could say what she wished, but Englishmen on the ground had been badly shaken by the “mutiny” that had led to the transfer of power, and the succeeding years had been marked by a growing belief that the Indians were incapable of self-government and that Britain’s mission was to get the job done with emotionless efficiency. It was, in short, the era of “never the twain shall meet” and “the white man’s burden.”

For example, in less than two decades after Victoria’s assurance that Indian participation in her service would be encouraged, the administrators in India ruled that an Indian aspiring to the Indian Civil Service could not sit for the examination if he were over 19 years of age. The earlier maximum age had been 21, and a few bright lads had actually made even that deadline and passed the examination. Lowering the age limit to 19 virtually precluded an Indian’s completing the necessary education (in English) and getting to England for the examination before time ran out.

This was seen by the nationalists as "a deliberate attempt to blast the prospects of Indian candidates for the Indian Civil Service."³ In 1876, the Indian Association continued its relatively feeble agitation against the lowering of the age limit, as well, and got little more than a promise of sympathetic consideration from Gladstone should his party be returned to power.

Lord Ripon's administration, in response to the high hopes of an uneasily united Gladstone and Victoria, did push through the repeal of the hated Press Act and instituted reforms in local administration designed to give Indians more share in government. Ripon became the idol of the Indians: "The press and platform sang his praise," it was reported. "The country was ablaze with excitement. Never before under British rule had the country been so enthusiastic in political matters. In Lord Ripon, they thought, they had found a 'political Messiah'."⁴ The messiah pressed on with the Ilbert Bill, introduced in 1883, which would have removed from the Code of Criminal Procedure "at once and completely every judicial qualification based merely on race distinctions." This meant, in effect, that Indian-born magistrates (niggers) might sit in judgment over cases involving white men. The British in India rose to a man and defeated Ripon in his brave efforts to implement the stirring words of Victoria's proclamation, insofar as they obtained to equality. The specter of racism had come out in the open. The Ilbert Bill served an unexpected purpose, however, by teaching Indians their first lesson in the effectiveness of organized protest. Accordingly, the Indian Association was incorporated in the more inclusive Indian National Conference. The first meeting of this group was held in December, of 1883 in Calcutta, and was heralded as "the reply of educated India to Ilbert Bill agitation, a resonant blast on their golden trumpet."⁵ But educated India did not blow hard enough.

Lord Ripon resigned in frustration before his term of office was completed, and this was a grievous blow to Indians. For them, it seemed the end of aspiration. Said one: "It was not that Lord Ripon had been able to do much; but the purity of his intentions, the loftiness of his ideals, the righteousness of his policy, and his hatred of racial disqualifications . . . had won the people's love and esteem such as no other Viceroy had ever done."⁶ With Ripon, in 1884, went the hope of the educated Indians, into whose ranks Har Dayal was born before the year ended. He was born in October, the time of *Ashvin*, when Hindus celebrate the victory of Rama over Ravana, the abductor of Sita, Rama's faithful wife and the ideal of Hindu womanhood. For them, this marked the triumph of good over evil. In later years, Har Dayal and his propagandists were to invest these epic characters with new meanings:

Rama?

That is Self-Rule, or National and Republican Government for India. The soldiers of Rama are the Nationalists and other Democrats of India.

Sita?

India — with her great civilization of old and her still greater civilization of tomorrow — provided she becomes free.

Ravana?

British imperialism.⁷

CASTE AND FAMILY BACKGROUND

Har Dayal was the youngest of the four sons of Lala Gauri Dayal, a Reader in the District Court at Delhi and, as such, an employee of the British. The name Dayal is not a surname in the Western sense, but more a designation — along with others — appropriate to that particular family and subcaste. In transliteration it sometimes appears as Dial (the closest phonetic approximation), or as Dyal, the spelling that was earlier used by the British and family members themselves. Similarly, Har is not to be thought of as a given name, or even as a separate name, hence many Indians write Hardayal as one word. When he was in his early twenties, Har Dayal decided to establish a consistent style in transliterating his name and insisted on two parts, which he called a first and second name, with the second name spelled Dayal. In later years, this name was frequently prefixed by Lala, an honorific used particularly in the Punjab area, meaning, "beloved person."

Har Dayal's father had a good income, and his status in the bureaucracy was relatively high. He was able to provide Har Dayal's brothers with legal educations. The oldest, Manohar Lal, practiced at Meerut. It will be noted that he preferred the designation also borne by Gobind Behari Lal, a fellow caste member. The other two brothers, Bhairo Dayal and Kishan Dayal practiced in Muzaddanagar and in Delhi, respectively, although Kishan Dayal — always closest to Har Dayal — was later to settle in Lahore.

The family lived comfortably in the shadow of the Islamic monuments of what is now known as Old Delhi. Har Dayal had a lifelong attachment to the city and it was there that he developed his love of Urdu, the graceful language of the Mughal court, essentially a Persian vocabulary grafted onto Hindi syntax and written in the Arabic script. He became very adept in the use of Urdu, not a customary accomplishment for a Hindu of his generation. He was, from all accounts, a handsome, if slight young lad, studious and sensitive, marked for success in a government career.

Har Dayal would qualify as a "high caste" Hindu, having been born into a *Kayastha* family, members of what is commonly known as a writer caste, whose principal occupations centered around the universities and the courts of law. Identified with northern and eastern India, the *Kayastha* is generally considered to fall roughly between the two upper *varna* in the traditional Vedic classification: between the *Brāhman* scholar or priest, that is, and the *Kshatriya* warrior. Historically, *Kayastha* were regarded in the eighteenth century as clean *Shudra* (lowest order in the *varna* scale), but they came to be generally accepted as being of twice-born status (meaning considered to be of the upper three *varna*). On balance, *Kayastha* is an "intermediate" caste, peopled almost exclusively by men of education. Har Dayal, in identifying himself as a *Kayastha*, put it this way: "It is a literary caste. It is allied to the *Brāhman*." When asked directly if his family were *Brāhman*, he said, "We do not use the word, 'caste'. Each subdivision prefers the name of the subdivision and not caste, therefore, we are called *Kayastha*."⁸

He, as any Indian, was undoubtedly aware of the difficulties of explaining the complexities of the caste system, and he was probably trying to make a distinction between the Vedic *varna* classifications and the later proliferation of endogamous, commensal groups, roughly classified within the *varna*. These units, or, as Har Dayal called them, "subdivisions," are known to the Indians as *jāti*, an ambiguous word having a variety of meanings, only the totality of which can explain the all-encompassing significance to a Hindu of what is loosely called "caste" by Westerners. In Har Dayal's case, it was the functional *Kayastha* network that provided him with channels of communication and access to an automatic power base. It was through his wife's family that much of this was to come about.

When he was 17, Har Dayal was married to Sundar, the daughter of the wealthy Lala Gopal Chand, *Naib Nazim* (a magistrate or sessions judge) as Barnala in Patiala state. Her grandfather had been *diwan* (prime minister) of that state. The marriage was not only a good match in socio-economic terms, but was a satisfactory one by testimony of the bride. A son was born to Har Dayal and Sundar two years after their marriage, but the infant lived for only ten months. Their daughter, Shanti, was not born until five years later in 1908. She was to read up to degree standard at Allahabad and to marry Bishan Narain, a barrister in Lahore who became a high court judge of distinguished reputation. This is a proud family, continuing the tradition of education, social consciousness, and love of India into the next generations.

EDUCATION

Har Dayal's academic achievements and intellectual prowess are continuing themes in accounts by his biographers and associates and a matter

of record in official British documents. He attended Christian mission schools in Delhi, completing his Bachelor of Arts degree at Saint Stephen's College in Delhi, which, at that time, was operated by the Cambridge Mission. He was a bookish youngster and not only read everything he could get his hands on but could, allegedly, commit anything to memory on first reading. They tell the story that when he was yet in grammar school he borrowed four or five of the classic English novels from the library, returning them the next day. The librarian, who had told him that the books were not for children, was triumphant: "I knew you couldn't read them," he said. "But I have read them," said Har Dayal. "Just tell me which one you want me to recite to you." This is no exaggeration says Gobind Behari Lal, who added that Har Dayal had been first in every examination from the time he entered school — that is, until the year of his graduation from Saint Stephen's. Then, he was first in most of the subjects but was second in the over-all competition to a young man from Lahore, and this influenced his decision to go to Lahore for his Master's. In spite of this "slip," as Lal called it, wherever Har Dayal went in Lahore he was known, because his reputation as a scholar had preceded him. The distinguished Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru was later to recall meeting Har Dayal in his Saint Stephen's days and to say that he was amazed to meet a young man — then of 16 or 17 years — who had "read so extensively and who had such clear-cut ideas."⁹ To illustrate his intellectual virtuosity, most of his associates and biographers cite an incident which occurred when he was racking up academic records at the University of the Punjab. According to the story, a "South Indian gentlemen" was performing feats of memory all over the Punjab. Har Dayal, after watching him, was unimpressed and said that he could do the same things. To prove it, he played chess, counted the ringing of a bell, repeated verses in Arabic and Latin which were being recited by fellow students, and completed a problem in arithmetic — all at the same time. The only ill effect, he said, was that he felt giddy at the end.

There are those who contend that all the evidence brought forth to support Har Dayal's high level of intellectuality add up to little more than a rather phenomenal memory. Harvey De Witt Griswold, who had Har Dayal as a student in Lahore, said that his extraordinary ability to memorize may well have been a reflection of the Indian cultural heritage, where "a highly developed memory makes possible . . . the acquisition of great masses of cultural material . . . which would otherwise be largely impossible." Professor Griswold also attested to the fact that eight or ten "masses of strange, unconnected material" could be sounded into Har Dayal's ears and that everything "came out in the order in which it went in."¹⁰

Har Dayal's later writings also support the thesis that he was of an

encyclopedic trend of mind, but in addition they show that he was capable of creative, provocative thought. Official British accounts stress his educational achievements: "Throughout his academic career he had been a scholar of exceptional qualifications always being first in his examinations and obtaining rewards and scholarships," citing as an example the fact that his papers in English were so good that they were retained as models of excellence.¹¹ His year or year and one-half in Lahore was crucial for Har Dayal because it was here that he came into contact with political, social, religious, and intellectual movements which were not as evident in Delhi, notable primarily as the seat of the old Mughal Empire and considered in the back washes of the currents of the time. In Lahore, Har Dayal discovered rationalism through the Rational Society of which he became a prominent member. The rationalist movement was to be a pre-occupation for most of his lifetime. In the area of politics, he became acquainted with Lala Lajpat Rai, who was one of the major nationalist leaders of the Punjab. Lajpat Rai was the founder of the Dayananda Anglo-Vedic College, one of the most distinguished of the *Arya Samaj* institutions. At Lahore, there was also a *Brahmo Samaj* College — the Dayal Singh College — so Har Dayal was confronted by these two Hindu reformist movements that were exerting influence on young intellectuals. Both the *Arya Samaj* and the *Brahmo Samaj* claimed to have converted Har Dayal but he, himself, never acknowledged an identification with either.

The *Arya Samaj* based itself on the teachings of Swami Dayananda Saraswati (1824–1883), a religious reformer whose life somewhat parallels that of the historical Buddha. He had also been compared to Martin Luther, as Har Dayal once pointed out.¹² Dayananda's creed is usually summed up with the clarion call, "Back to the Vedas!", and in British eyes the *Arya Samaj* was seen as "a nationalist revival against Western influence."¹³ Much of Dayananda's teachings, however, was directed against the practices and beliefs of the Hinduism which surrounded him. He denounced idolatry, child marriage, the inequality of women, asked that the study of the Vedas be open to all, and held for a modification of the caste system to be based on "merit and sterling worth." Perhaps the most startling aspect of his teachings — to the non-Hindu, at any rate — was his insistence that Hinduism was the only true religion on the basis that "it is a well-known fact that 5,000 years ago there existed no other religion in the whole world but the Vedic," the implication being that all other religions were heresies which assumed a new form "every time a new founder arose."¹⁴ This and similar pronouncements by prominent *Arya Samajists* soon classified the movement as striking directly at the heart of the two great converting religions, Christianity and Islam.

By contrast, the founder of the *Brahmo Samaj* (Society of God) was Rammohan Roy (1772–1833), who was much more modern in his outlook and drew from the rationalism of the West. He is, in fact, most often called, the “Father of Modern India.” Rammohan Roy, like Dayananda, was born of devout Brāhman parents and he, too, between the ages of 15 and 20, wandered through India in search of religious knowledge, going apparently even to Tibet, where he is said to have spent several years studying Buddhism. But instead of devoting the rest of his life to religious mendicancy and devotion, Roy entered government service, rising to one of the highest posts a non-Britisher could hold in the Bengal Civil Service. Because of his success as an administrator and an assured income from landed estates, he was able to retire at forty-two. He remained in Calcutta, where he published newspapers in the vernacular — one of the first Indians to do so — and carried on a successful campaign against *sati* (widow immolation) and generally dominated the social and intellectual scene. Late in his life, he set a new precedent for Hindus by “crossing the black waters” to England, where he was “everywhere honored as the unofficial ambassador of India to Britain” and where he died — in Bristol — “in the arms of his Unitarian friends.”¹⁵ Brahmoism, according to some, is not materially distinguishable from Theism or Unitarianism, and it has also been called a “new sect of Protestant Hinduism,” which denied the “authority of the scriptures and priests to determine man’s faith, and repudiated the claims of caste and custom to regulate his domestic or social relations.”¹⁶ It was highly individualistic and intellectual, and perhaps it was these aspects of it that appealed to young Har Dayal. In any case, he was apparently sufficiently interested in the movement that Brahmos could claim that Har Dayal might take charge of their college in Lahore after he had completed his education, which even then was projected to include graduation from one of the major English universities.¹⁷

Influencing Personalities

Three men have usually been singled out as having influenced Har Dayal during the process of his education, especially when he was in Lahore: Hans Raj, the principal of the D. A. V. College; Lajpat Rai; and an Arya Samaj missionary, Bhai Parmanand. Hans Raj may have influenced him to some extent, says Gobind Behari Lal, but the other two, no: friends, associates, co-workers, but not “influencers.” “Let me tell you who the real influencers were,” he says. “To begin with, most people overlook the fact that Har Dayal was profoundly influenced by the Christian missionaries at Saint Stephen’s College. Unless you realize this, you don’t understand a lot of things about Har Dayal. They influenced him by their sincerity, by their earnestness, and in the way they lived.” These men —

“devoted, thorough gentlemen” — impressed Har Dayal with their sense of purpose in regard to their missionary work. From them, says Lal, “you got the spirit, the sense of duty, the urgency of this British type of missionary who went abroad. To them, their work was very important.” To Indians they seemed idealistic and “misguided, perhaps, but that’s what they believed in. They believed in their Empire and their God.” On their pride in their country and their love of freedom Har Dayal was to base his own: this he wrote in his diary. Among Indians, says Lal, Har Dayal had two ideals: Romesh Chandra Dutt and Raghunath Purushottam Paranjpye.

For Har Dayal, Dutt (1848–1908) was the ideal government man, who retained his national dignity and “never gave up his love of country.” After successfully passing the Civil Service examinations, ranking third, he rose to the post of a commissioner in Orissa. When he retired, he was invited to teach Indian history at the University of London. After seven years of this, he returned to India to serve as *diwan* of Baroda, where he introduced many reforms for modernizing and liberalizing the state. He was active in the nationalist movement and served as president of the Indian National Congress in 1899. He not only wrote historical and social novels in Bengali, but translated the *Rig Veda* into that language and the two great epics, the *Ramayana* and the *Mahabharata* into English verse. Two of his significant works were *Civilization in Ancient India*, a protean accomplishment, and a two-volume *Economic History of British India*, an indictment of British exploitation. He was a member of a highly cultured and highly educated Bengali family which had become Christian.

If R. C. Dutt were the ideal civil servant, then to Har Dayal, R. P. Paranjpye (1876–1908) was the ideal academician. Should he decide to enter the field of education, he would model himself after this man who, in 1899, became the first Indian to be bracketed senior wrangler at Cambridge University, which he attended under a government scholarship. Having achieved this honor in mathematics, he could have had his pick of government jobs — at perhaps two or three thousand rupees a month, say his contemporaries, and it was also well known that he would more probably have been nominated to the Indian Educational Service, until then virtually closed to all but Europeans. Instead, he honored his earlier enrollment as a life member of the Deccan Educational Society, which pledged him “to make a sacrifice of material prospects for at least 20 years of his life.”¹⁸ He became principal of Fergusson College at a very modest salary — some say no more than 75 rupees per month. Paranjpye’s rejection of governmental preference and his dedication to an academic career impressed Har Dayal deeply, says Lal.

A disciple of the great moderate, Gopal Krishna Gokhale — also on

the Fergusson College faculty — Paranjpye invoked the wrath of the mighty extremist, Bal Gangadhar Tilak, when he refused to close his college on the day of a solar eclipse and then defended his position in an article entitled, "Is Religious Education in India Necessary?" Tilak scornfully replied that Paranjpye "is not nor will he ever be qualified to expound his opinions on religious matters or religious education."¹⁹ Paranjpye, says Lal, "was a great example to Har Dayal. He was the first man with the highest academic honors who threw away a government career for nothing — if you think of it in terms of prestige and status, as well as rupees." Har Dayal, Lal continued, compared himself with the top men among the intellectuals, who, at that time, were the aging humanist Dutt and the rising rationalist Paranjpye.

As for Hans Raj and Bhai Parmanand, Har Dayal most admired the depth of their commitment. Hans Raj was then principal of the D. A. V. College, which had been set up to provide higher education on Western lines. Har Dayal was later to refer to Hans Raj as *Mahatma* (Great Soul), the honorific most commonly associated with Mohandas Karamchand Gandhi, and to cite him as an example of a man who gave his life to teaching without remuneration — *vidhya dan*, the gift of learning — and a man who served as an example for many of the D. A. V. College faculty members who also taught for very small salaries, "like true Brāhmans."²⁰ Twenty years Har Dayal's senior, Hans Raj's educational pattern was the same: mission schools and the University of the Punjab. He went, however, directly from the university into the work of the Arya Samaj and was active in its educational program up until his death in 1938. Intellectually oriented, Hans Raj was reputed to have one of the finest libraries in the Punjab. By contrast, Bhai Parmanand was more a man of people than books, although he had received his Master of Arts degree at the University of the Punjab and was teaching history and political science at the D. A. V. College during Har Dayal's student days in Lahore. "He was a good, sweet, kind, religious man," says Gobind Behari Lal, "but no intellectual match for Har Dayal." Nonetheless, he became one of Har Dayal's closest associates in the years to come and was to occupy an important place in the annals of Punjab nationalism.

Of the other personalities with whom Har Dayal associated in Lahore while he was at the university, Lala Lajpat Rai (1865–1928) was by far the best known. He may be ranked among the top ten of the earlier nationalist leaders. Also an ardent Arya Samajist and one of its major interpreters, he played a large part in making the society what it was to become. He, too, was closely identified with the D. A. V. College, and is said to have served it as a lecturer in history. Although Lajpat Rai was a staunch advocate of Vedism, he was never "deeply devoted to the study

of things religious.”²¹ He was not schooled in Sanskrit and had little knowledge of Hindi, even though he supported it for the national language of India. He was later to be called, “The Lion of the Punjab,” and even in Har Dayal’s student days he was already hailed as one of the euphonious big three of Indian nationalism: Lal (Lala Lajpat Rai of the Punjab); Bal (Bal Gangadhar Tilak of Maharashtra), and Pal (Bipin Chandra Pal of Bengal). Lajpat Rai was less than leonine to some, notably a British sympathizer of Indian nationalist aspirations — Wilfrid Scawen Blunt — who found Lal of “confused mind, timid, too, and deprecatory in manner” and his views “all without precision.”²² Har Dayal was also to see him in something of the same light later, but at that time he apparently recognized him, as did most, as the dominant Punjabi in nationalist politics, and many of Har Dayal’s earlier writings on British imperialism follow closely the Lala’s lead.

State Scholarship

Har Dayal first attracted more than local attention when he was selected for a state scholarship granted by the government of India to promising young Indian scholars who were expected to join the government service after they had completed their education in England. What made his selection so important was that Har Dayal was the first Punjabi, or North Indian, or — for that matter — the first inlander to be awarded a scholarship. Previously, all of the candidates had come from the older coastal universities at Calcutta, Bombay, or Madras. According to Gobind Behari Lal, “the coast people were way ahead of the inland people; we were a long way behind in English-type education,” but, because of his brilliant academic record and the high recommendations of his professors, “the British were very much for Har Dayal and they praised him highly.” It was the principal of Saint Stephen’s College, for example, who dispelled rumors that Har Dayal was suspected of disloyalty to the British government. In answer to a query from the Indian Home Department (Education), he reported that “such accusations of disloyalty appear to be groundless.”²³ Apparently no check was made on his activities in Lahore where the British Criminal Investigation Department had filed a report while he was a student at the Lahore Government College in 1904, that “a sense of revolt had taken deep root in his mind and had even permeated strongly a select circle of his friends.”²⁴

James Campbell Ker, who served as personal assistant to the director of criminal intelligence in India, characterized Har Dayal as “something of a firebrand in politics”; even before he left India in 1905 at the age of 21.”²⁵ Before he went to Lahore, says Gobind Behari Lal, Har Dayal’s nationalism was more a commitment to the times than to any particular

school of political thought or action. "We used to discuss it. This was the thing that seemed of most prestige: the hell with government service, this was the thing." There is a legend that at the time of his interview for the scholarship, Har Dayal was asked by his British examiners what was the key to administrative success and he had replied, "*Divide et impera* — this much we have learned from you." Legend also had it that his brilliance was such that this impertinence was overlooked.

Oxford

The contract which Har Dayal signed when he accepted the scholarship did not specifically state that a young man sent to England would return to serve in a post useful to the British, thus justifying the government's investment, but the assumption was certainly there. The scholarship provided 200 sterling each year for three years and provided round-trip passage, and the contract involved a bond in the amount of Rs. 3,400, which would be forfeited in the event that the recipient of the scholarship did not fulfill the terms of the contract. No particular educational institution was designated, nor was a required course of study indicated. All Har Dayal had to do was to submit for the approval of the secretary of state for India a statement showing the general plan of study he proposed to follow. There was an additional requirement that once this plan was approved, it could not be changed without official sanction. The scholarship holder contracted to obey such instructions as he might receive from the secretary of state and to present, at the end of each term, a certificate showing that "his residence, conduct and progress in study" had been satisfactory. This was the only control over the Indian government scholars in England which was maintained, overtly, at any rate.

Har Dayal chose Saint John's College, Oxford, and told officials there that he proposed to read for the Honour School of Modern History, taking as his subject the later period of European history and British India as his special study.²⁶ At the University of the Punjab he had been an Aitchison-Ramrattan Sanskrit Scholar, and he continued his studies in this language at Oxford, being made a Boden Sanskrit Scholar. He was also designated Casberd Exhibitioner in History. These honors carried with them stipends in the combined amount of £130. There seems to be little doubt that Har Dayal made his academic mark at Oxford. One of his countrymen rises to poetic heights when he tells of Har Dayal's days there, concluding with the remark that the principal of Saint John's was "enamoured of him on account of his exceptional high intellect and character."²⁷ Another says that "he could charm his colleagues, and college professors with the clarity of his thought, the sharpness of his intellect" and that he soon became "most loved of the Indian students at Oxford."²⁸ These

panegyrics can be substantiated by the India Office records. Professor C. F. Andrews, the great Christian missionary of the Saint Stephen's faculty, tells of meeting Har Dayal when he was at Oxford: "He had reduced his wants to a minimum and was living in very bare and small lodgings. He was an ascetic by nature, even in his studies."²⁹

Har Dayal came back to Delhi unexpectedly at the end of his first term at Oxford. That was in the summer of 1906. "All of a sudden he turned up in Delhi." Gobind Behari Lal recalls. "He was not supposed to be in India, but there he was." A great change had come over him, both Lal and Tara Chand testify. There was no question, now, of his commitment to nationalism. He told Lal that he had no intention of going into government service. "We are," he said, "the keepers of nationalist work. We are going to work for our country. I am not going into Civil Service, but don't tell anybody." Although he was only in Delhi for the short vacation time, Har Dayal was asked to lecture at Saint Stephen's for that summer. "Before he went to England," Lal says, "we thought him to be very European. Now, he was a changed man. He established a *Ramayana* Club at Saint Stephen's. Even the principal [the Christian convert, Susil Kumar Rudra] used to come to our meetings." The text used was the R. C. Dutt translation.

From all accounts, the real reason Har Dayal returned to India after less than one year abroad was that he wanted his wife, Sundar, to return with him. Everyone in the family was against it, she recalled. When he told his mother what he planned to do, she sent Sundar back to her family with a cousin as escort. She was not to return to Delhi until after Har Dayal had left. She and the cousin however, started their return trip earlier and were on their way back when Har Dayal intercepted them and said he was taking his wife with him. The cousin wanted him to let her return Sundar to her mother-in-law in Delhi, but Har Dayal would not agree. The altercation on the railroad platform drew considerable attention, and most of the people in the curious crowd, thinking that Har Dayal was kidnapping somebody else's wife, began to get a little hostile. The cousin, however, confirmed that Sundar was Har Dayal's wife, so the sympathy of the onlookers was now in his favor. He put her on the train to Bombay, and by changing hotels when he got there managed to keep himself and his wife concealed until she was safely on the ship.

Then Har Dayal appeared on deck to bid his irate and indignant relatives farewell. His brother, Kishan Dayal, had tried to board the steamer in search of Sundar but was unsuccessful in his attempt. According to Lal, "His family and his wife's family were just sick about it; they hated the whole thing, but they did have to admit it was quite an escapade to kidnap

your own wife." Back in Oxford, Har Dayal found lodgings for himself and his wife with English friends, who maintained their contact with Sundar through letters for many years. She remembers her stay in England as a very pleasant interlude.

INDIA HOUSE AND INDIAN STUDENTS IN LONDON

Having his wife with him after his first year abroad made Har Dayal different from the typical Indian student in England. For most, it was a time of difficult adjustment, marked by loneliness and alienation. The Englishmen they met were not like those who had been their masters at home. The English students had interests that excluded the diffident, book-oriented Indians, who thus tended to keep together.³⁰ Har Dayal had not only established a home life but had made friends among others than his countrymen. He appears to have entered into the extracurricular intellectual life at Oxford, as well, and said that he had been a frequent visitor at Pusey House and participated in the discussions. He characterized himself as having been "heterodox but not so radical" in those days. He had also made the "pilgrimage" to see Alexander Kropotkin and had met George Bernard Shaw.³¹ He was well known to the poet laureate, Robert Bridges, who spoke of Har Dayal "in the highest terms, both of his character and his intellectual attainments."³² In addition to participating in the campus life, Har Dayal joined other Indian students in visits to London to attend meetings in behalf of Indian nationalism, although he did not make himself conspicuous as a nationalist until well into his second year at Oxford. At that time, there were two towering personalities competing for the support of Indian students in England, and they represented the opposite extremes of Indian nationalism of the day: Dadabhai Naoroji (1825-1917), a moderate and the founder of the East India Association, and Shyamaji Krishnavarma (1857-1930), an extremist who presided over India House.

Dadabhai Naoroji is universally known as the "grand old man of India" and the "patron saint" of moderates and liberals in Indian politics. His Indian Association, as it was more popularly known, was founded in 1867 and enjoyed the prestige of seniority. Dadabhai was the son of a Zoroastrian priest and had received his education at the Elphinstone Institution, Bombay's leading college and an early English-sponsored institution of higher learning in India. There, he so distinguished himself that he was invited to serve on the faculty. At the age of 27, he was appointed a professor of mathematics and natural philosophy. When he was 30 (1885), he resigned to accept a partnership in the Parsi firm of Cama & Co., and moved permanently to London as the representative of this first

Indian firm to do business in England. Paranjpye called him "the natural leader of all Indians in England."³³ He was identified with the group who sought "political advancement" of India "by awakening the consciousness of the British people to their sense of duty towards India and appealing to their democratic instincts and liberal principles."³⁴ He stood for Parliament as a Liberal candidate and held a seat in the House of Commons from 1892 until 1895. He was early associated with the Indian National Congress and was to appear from time to time as its president, usually as a compromise candidate. The Indian Association met regularly in London and drew students to its meetings. It was basically moderate and included Englishmen in its membership with whom Indians discussed their grievances. In order to tell the Indian side of the story, Dadabhai bought stock in the *Daily News*.

Shyamaji Krishnavarma represented the opposite pole of Indian nationalism, being allied with Tilak and others of the so-called "extremist" stripe. He was a poor Brāhman whose English and Sanskrit education were made possible by the patronage of a member of a trading caste of West India. His academic brilliance made him a highly eligible bridegroom, and he was matched to the daughter of one of the wealthiest merchants of Bombay. Shyamaji's mastery of Sanskrit was such as to capture the attention of not only Swami Dayananda, the founder of the Arya Samaj, but of Sir Monier Williams, the Boden Professor of Sanskrit at Oxford. He asked for and received an assistantship in Sanskrit under Sir Monier Williams but, by the time he had gotten together the money for his passage, the time embraced by the appointment had run out. He arrived, undaunted, and a place was made for him. He completed his B.A. and was the first Indian to earn an M.A. degree at Oxford and, at the same time he was completing this degree, he began the study of law in London. He is mostly known for his enterprise in soliciting scholarship support from a variety of sources, and he supplemented this income by tutoring. He arrived in England in 1878 penniless and left four years later with £2,000 which he had saved, a feat that even Gandhi was to remark no Indian had ever done before.³⁵

As a result of his service in a series of princely states, Krishnavarma became involved in a long, drawn-out clash with British officials,³⁶ which embittered him and thrust him into the arms of Bal Gangadhar Tilak and his emerging extremist party. In 1897, by now a man of independent means, he decided to leave India for good. This was the year of the Rand murder, an event with which Shyamaji's departure from India, by his own admission, was "not unconnected."³⁷

There had been in Poona a devastating plague, and the British had instituted house-to-house inspection and fumigation, as well as the com-

pulsory evacuation of plague-infected houses. The man in charge of the operation was Walter Charles Rand, the plague commissioner. His efficiency was construed as "tyranny" by Tilak, who held that the government was "oppressive" in its attempts to curb the disease. Mr. Rand was murdered when he was returning from a celebration of the 60th anniversary of the coronation of the Queen. A companion was also — if inadvertently — assassinated.

The perpetrators (the brothers Chapekar) were readily apprehended, tried, and hanged. Tilak was also tried, convicted, and imprisoned. Other suspects were transported, and Shyamaji departed — voluntarily — for London, where for the next eight years he lived with his wife in relative obscurity, but not without rather strong political views. M. R. Jayakar, who visited the Pandit in 1903 commented on his "ultra-radical views about Indian politics" and suggested that these views necessitated his remaining abroad. No supporter of Congress, Shyamaji referred to the "expedient hypocrisy" of its leaders and their "time-serving insincerity." He attacked Madhav Govinda Ranade and what he called his "feather-nesting school," and he excoriated Pherozeshah Mehta's "vindictiveness in public life." As for the venerated Swami Vivekananda, he remarked that some of his habits were "inconsistent with his saintliness" and that his sincerity was questionable.³⁸

In January of 1905, Shyamaji openly entered Indian nationalist politics. Simultaneously, he announced the founding of his India Home Rule Society, published the first number of the *Indian Sociologist*, and threw open his Highgate residence to young Indian students in London — his home, hereafter, to be known as India House. Initially, Krishnavarma's activities were hailed by Mahatma Gandhi, who said of him:

He lives on the land which he has purchased. Though he can afford to live in comfort, he lives in poverty. He dresses simply and lives like an ascetic. His mission is service to his country. The idea underlying his service is that there should be complete *swaraj* for India and that the British should quit the country, handing over power to Indians. If they do not do so, the Indians should refuse them all help so that they become unable to carry on the administration and are forced to leave. He holds that unless this is done the people of India will never be happy. Everything else will follow *swaraj*.³⁹

These comments were written by Gandhi in 1906, and we can hear in them some of the overtones of his later political philosophy. Gandhi had arrived in England in October of 1906 with Mr. H. O. Ali. The two formed a deputation sent to London by the Indians in the Transvaal to protest the notorious "Black Ordinance" requiring the registration of

Asiatics. Gandhi had mobilized these Indians to sign pledges of resistance to the ordinance. This action he then called, "passive resistance," a term, however, which was not original with Gandhi, having been coined the year before in connection with Tilak's program for his Nationalist, or Extremist Party.⁴⁰ In London, Gandhi and Mr. Ali went directly to India House. After a brief meal, they left for a meeting of the Indian Association, where Gandhi met with Dadabhai Naoroji. He returned to India House, where he spent the next day meeting with Indian youths. That night he met with Krishnavarma, with whom he conversed until one o'clock in the morning. Gandhi found India House "rather remote" and reluctantly moved to a downtown hotel "at great expense" because his work required "getting in touch with important people." He and Mr. Ali, he said, were "very well looked after" while they were at India House.⁴¹

There had been no India House in Gandhi's student days in London. Like the others of his time, he spoke almost reverently of the aging Dadabhai and said of his visits to the Indian Association: "Whenever an address by him was announced, I would attend it, listen to him from a corner of the hall, and go away after having feasted my eyes and ears." He rejoiced, he said, at Dadabhai's "solicitude for the students and the latter's respect for him."⁴² When Gandhi returned to England with the Transvaal deputation, India House now provided an alternative to Dadabhai's Indian Association. In theory, India House was open to all Indians and this, too, appealed to Gandhi: "whether Hindus, Muslims, or others" they "can and do stay there. The expenses of some students are borne by Shyamaji himself. There is full freedom for everyone in the matter of food and drink."⁴³ The Muslims seemed to have had some reservations, though, especially about the Home Rule Society. Ziaduddin Ahmad, who was later to become vice chancellor of the Muslim university at Aligarh, wrote to one of his co-religionists:

I understand that Mr. Krishnavarma has founded a society called "Indian Home Rule Society" and you are also one of its vice-presidents. Do you really believe that the Mohammedans will be profited if Home Rule be granted to India? . . . There is no doubt that this Home Rule is decidedly against the Aligarh policy . . . what I call the Aligarh policy is really the policy of all the Mohammedans generally — of the Mohammedans of Upper India particularly.⁴⁴

In the eyes of those who have undertaken to chronicle the role of the extremists and armed revolutionaries, India House, in retrospect, looms large as the breeding ground of "patriots," as witness Balshastri Hardas' evaluation. India House, he said, was a "haven for the Indians," and its founder

Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma will ever be remembered in the History of the Freedom Movement of India as the most inspiring genius for youths, who had gone abroad. It was very probable that when a number of Indian youths used to go to the home of British imperialism to study their law and literature, the impressionable among them would be caught in the danger of becoming charmed slaves of British ways and manners of life. It was absolutely necessary that some one should have performed the function of a strict monitor, who kept a vigilant eye on these youths and prevented them from being carried away by English influences. With this negative aspect, there was also a positive function of enthusing the spirit of patriotism in the youths so far away from their mother land. It will be readily admitted by all that Shyamaji Krishnavarma performed this function so well and so full that it is only due to him that our youths returned back safe with the spirit of dedication.⁴⁵

David Garnett, who was a friend and contemporary of some of the habitués of India House, said that the Indians whom he had met “made merciless fun” of Krishnavarma. He added, however, that “he was nevertheless regarded by the British authorities as the leader of a most dangerous, seditious movement.”⁴⁶

In British eyes, India House was indeed considered a sinister and evil institution. Sir Charles Tegart, who served as commissioner of police in Calcutta before World War I, and had himself been considered a prime target for assassination, characterized India House as a place where “violent speeches” were made and “lectures were delivered on the construction of infernal machines.” More than this, “conspiracies were hatched that resulted in murders.”⁴⁷ Scotland Yard insinuated informants into India House and Garnett reports that when he first visited the residence at Highgate, his companions told him that the man assigned to be “sentinel” for the meeting was known to be an informer, so he was posted outside in the garden so that he could not report on what was going on in the meeting inside.⁴⁸

Even the *Modern Review* of Calcutta, a liberal Indian monthly to which Har Dayal was a frequent contributor from 1909 until 1926, viewed India House with some alarm, saying in an editorial that there should be some sort of an agency to provide for the Indian student in the London area who was neither a “typical bureaucrat” nor a “wild extremist” — a sort of halfway house between the agencies supported by Dadabhai Naoroji and Shyamaji Krishnavarma, respectively. The magazine commented: “It is highly undesirable that our students abroad should have anything to do with Mr. Krishnavarma. For it is one thing to stimulate and keep alive a desire for perfect citizenship as the final outcome of political evolution, but it is another to support and encourage murderous outrages as part of a political propaganda”⁴⁹ A “political propaganda,” it might be added, in which Har Dayal was soon to indulge.

The Indian Sociologist

Shyamaji Krishnavarma subtitled his monthly journal "an organ of freedom, and of political, social, and religious reforms," and carried on the masthead two quotations from Herbert Spencer:

Every man is free to do that which he wills, provided he infringes not the equal freedom of any other man.

—*Principles of Ethics*, Section 272.

Resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable but imperative. Non-resistance hurts both altruism and egoism.

—*The Study of Sociology*, Chapter 8.

The Pandit was a devoted acolyte at the Spencerian altar. Among other things, he had donated £1,000 to Oxford University for the foundation of a lectureship in honor of Spencer's memory.

The *Indian Sociologist* was launched with an explanatory column, entitled, "Ourselves," in which Krishnavarma said that his object in publishing the monthly was to "enlighten the British public with regard to the grievances, demands, and aspirations of the people of India" and "to plead the cause of India and its unrepresented millions before the Bar of Public Opinion in Great Britain and Ireland." The journal, he continued, would endeavor "to inculcate the great sociological truth that 'it is impossible to join injustice and brutality abroad with justice and humanity at home,'" and would — from time to time — "remind the British people that they can never succeed in being a nation of freemen and lovers of freedom so long as they continue to send out members of the dominating classes to exercise despotisms in Britain's name upon the various conquered races that constitute Britain's military Empire." He denied affiliation with any political party and expressed his dedication to sociology, "that new and profound science" and called on Spencer once more as one who had proven conclusively that "all despotisms, whether political or religious, whether of sex, caste, or of custom, may be generalized as limitations to individuality, which it is the nature of civilization to remove." He concluded with the humble hope that "the performance of our self-imposed task will be ultimately attended with success."⁵⁰

It might be added that Krishnavarma did not depend upon Spencer exclusively to support his contentions. To make his point in a later article, for example, he drew from such disparate sources as a Sanskrit *mantra*, a member of Parliament, Mazzini, the *New York Sun*, James Bryce, and Wendell Phillips. From its rather innocuous beginning, the *Indian Sociologist* rose to become proclaimed by the British as a "seditious rag" in which the self-styled sociologist "openly glorified murder."⁵¹

Recruitment into Politics

For his first year and one-half at Oxford, Har Dayal satisfactorily fulfilled the terms of his scholarship as his academic records and honors attest. He was, as has been indicated, not unaware of the political activities of Indians in England, and he used to come down to London with other Indian students to attend various meetings. He was early attracted to India House rather than to Dadabhai Naoroji's Indian Association, and he apparently spent considerable time talking with Krishnavarma. Har Dayal met Shyamaji in April 1906, eight months after his arrival in England. He was introduced by Bhai Parmanand, his friend from Lahore.

When Har Dayal had left for Oxford, or about that time, Bhai Parmanand had gone to South Africa as a missionary for the Arya Samaj. There he met Mahatma Gandhi. From South Africa, Bhai Parmanand went to London and was there when Gandhi arrived with the Transvaal Delegation. He was studying for an English M.A. and living at India House. Bhai Parmanand's being there apparently disturbed Gandhi, because he wrote to an English woman he knew asking her to provide lodgings for him. In the course of the note, he defined the Arya Samaj as being to Hinduism what Protestantism is to Catholicism.⁵²

There is no evidence that Har Dayal met Gandhi at this time, but Bhai Parmanand did introduce him to Gopal Krishna Gokhale when he was in London as an official Congress delegate and Har Dayal was in his first term at Oxford. Legend has it that Gokhale hoped to recruit the young student as a life member of the Servants of India Society but that Har Dayal resisted any advances by saying, "One of the rules of your society is that every member should be loyal to the British Government. My conscience does not permit this." Gokhale then asked, "Could you then suggest any other means of India's independence? I hold that by pushing on the path of evolution we can achieve our goal with the help of Britain." At this point, the story goes, Har Dayal "cut him short" with, "Yes, but then you can't enthuse people for freedom."⁵³ Rejection of Gokhale in those days was considered tantamount to acceptance of Tilak. Har Dayal had stated his position.

Impact of Savarkar

Vinayak Damodar Savarkar was born in 1883 in Nasik, one of the holy cities of Western India. A *Chitpavan Brāhman*, as were his fellow Maharashtrais, Tilak and Gokhale, he was the second son of a landowner known for both his Sanskrit scholarship and his Western-style education. Savarkar was 14 years old when he witnessed the hanging of the Chapekar brothers, the convicted assassins of Mr. Rand, the plague inspector, and his companion. It was this, he said, which inspired him to take a pledge

before "our family deity — the Armed Goddess Durga — and invoke the blessings of the Great Mother, the source of Divine inspiration and strength. I took a solemn vow before Goddess Durga to do my duty towards my country . . . and to drive the Britishers from my beloved motherland and make my country free and great once again — the glory that was Hind." This, he continued, was how and why he became a revolutionary.⁵⁴ True to his vow, he organized his schoolboy friends into the *Rashtra-Bhakta Samuha* (Society of the Devotees of the Nation) and devised measures to maintain secrecy and discipline. In the best tradition of Kautilya (India's Machiavelli), he "planned tests of devotion and loyalty" to be passed by the young members of his society.⁵⁵

A year later, a more sophisticated organization was set up, called *Mitra Mela* (Society of Friends), which concentrated its efforts on religious and patriotic observances, notably the *Ganapati* festival and the *Shivaji* anniversary, celebrations which had been instituted by Tilak as devices to stimulate nationalism among the Hindu masses in Maharashtra. The Ganapati festival was a ten-day-long observance of the birth of the elephant-headed god, Ganesh, the son of Shiva and Parvati. It was timed to be held just after the Muslim *Mohurram* festival and served to give the Hindus a congregational observance of their own. Shivaji (1627-1680), the founder of the Mahratta Empire, and an almost forgotten historical figure, was resurrected, refurbished, and virtually deified by Tilak in his effort to weld religion and politics. It was not enough for Savarkar that the Mitra Mela participate in these religio-patriotic observances; he formed its members into weekly study groups to reinforce their determination to sacrifice their lives, if necessary, for freedom. The Mitra Mela gave way to the *Abhinava Bharat* (Young India), which was patterned after Mazzini's Young Italy.⁵⁶

In 1905, the partition of Bengal was announced, touching off the boycott and *swadeshi* (made in the country) movements, aimed to place an economic squeeze on the British by encouraging the consumption of Indian-made goods along with refusal to buy those made in Britain. At this time, Savarkar was a student at Fergusson College in Poona. He mobilized Abhinava Bharat in behalf of the swadeshi movement and collected cartloads of *videshi* (foreign-made) cloth and ceremonially burned it in the spirit of the traditional Vedic fire sacrifice.

This brought him to the attention of Tilak, who recommended Savarkar for one of the travelling scholarships funded by S. R. Rana, a wealthy Indian expatriate — and "patriot" — who made his home in Paris. Tilak wrote that Savarkar was "a spirited young man, very enthusiastic in the swadeshi cause, so much so that he had to incur the displeasure of the Fergusson College authorities for his outspokenness last year."⁵⁷ In

discussing the problems of discipline at the college, Paranjpye was later to say:

. . . the students were generally well-behaved and fairly studious. Occasionally, however, a student would indulge in undesirable political activity, and I had to take action in the interests of the College. One of these cases related to Mr. V. D. Savarkar, whom I had warned against making objectionable political speeches while he was a student of the College. As he paid no heed to these warnings, I had to take disciplinary steps against him. This created some public stir at the time. But my later relations with Savarkar were hardly affected by this incident, and I believe he agrees that I acted in the best interests of the institution.⁵⁸

Tilak concluded his recommendation by saying that Savarkar "has no mind to take up government service at any time and his moral character is good." This was sufficient to assure the awarding of the scholarship and before departing for England, Savarkar exhorted his followers to "organize all the people, fill their minds with one thought, and with all the strength in your blood, attack the *mlecchas*, meaning all foreigners."⁵⁹

Savarkar arrived in London in July of 1906 and was admitted to Gray's Inn as a student of law. His later revolutionary activities precluded his ever being awarded a degree. As a scholarship winner, he moved into India House. One of his first acts was to establish what he called the Free India Society, identified as a recruiting agency for the more select Abhinava Bharat, which was, as it had been in India, an inner circle of dedicated revolutionaries. Savarkar is reported to have brought Bhai Parmanand into the revolutionary movement and to have similarly attracted Har Dayal.

The biographers of Savarkar and chroniclers of the exploits of the so-called "armed revolutionaries" are inclined to wax lyrical over the association of Savarkar and Har Dayal. One says, for example, that their very first meeting "turned out to be a revolutionary one for Lala Har Dayal," who was "as sentimental as he was reflective . . . a fanatic in everything. Once a conviction came, he would go to its logical end and try to put it into active practice." When the two met, "what a coincidence it must have been . . . an extremist patriot coming in contact with a fanatic intellect!" These two, he called the "twin souls of Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma moving in two external forms," becoming "the magnetic centre of attraction and activity in the years to come." They were "the manifestation of thunder and lightning, which, on the one hand, gave an alarming shock to the British Rule, and, on the other, startled the beholders with its brilliance."⁶⁰ The relation of Savarkar and Har Dayal to Krishnavarma is evaluated differently by Lala Lajpat Rai, who commented: "To say that Har Dayal and Savarkar were his 'disciples' would be to

belittle these two great men, but there can be no doubt that Shyamaji's ideas did influence them."⁶¹

The argument may well continue as to who outshone whom, who influenced whom, and who was a "disciple" of whom, but two facts stand out: (1) India House, which was the creation of Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma, was undeniably the point of contact for Savarkar and Har Dayal; (2) at the time of their meeting, Savarkar had built up a record of nationalist activity and had an organization behind him. It was not until after they met that Har Dayal became a stellar performer in the revolutionary movement. Har Dayal was initiated into the Abhinava Bharat and took the oath that Savarkar required of its members:

In the sacred name of Chhatrapati Shivaji, in the name of my sacred religion, for the sake of my beloved country, invoking my forefathers, I swear, that my nation will be prosperous, only after freedom, full freedom is achieved. Convinced of this, I dedicate my health, wealth and talents for the freedom of my country and for her total uplift. I will work hard to my utmost capacity till my last breath. I will not spare myself or slacken in this mission. I will follow all the rules and regulations of Abhinava Bharat. I will never disclose anything about the organization. . . .⁶²

COMET IN THE NATIONALIST FIRMAMENT

* At the annual meeting of his Indian Home Rule Society, held on February 23, 1907, Krishnavarma announced the donation of Rs. 10,000 toward establishing an organization of "political missionaries" in India. He said that he intended to discuss the plan with Tilak, Pal, Lajpat Rai, Khaparde, and other leaders of what he called the "New Party." He also discussed the matter with Har Dayal, who suggested that the party have an English-language monthly magazine to be called, *Swarajya*. This, he said, would serve as "Record and Review of the progress of our organisation." Reprints could be made of materials appearing in the journal, which would attract the talent of the "New Party." He suggested that it be edited by a well-known writer — Tilak or Pal — but that he himself might take over "in the course of time."

Har Dayal had also worked out "A Sketch of a Complete Political Movement for the Emancipation of India," which he submitted to Shyamaji Krishnavarma. This was an incredible document, and the first of a series of written "constitutions" which he was to propose from time to time throughout his life. It proposed three phases of action: the first, "educative and academic"; the second, "destructive," meaning criticism of the British regime; and the third, "constructive" and involving "Actual preparation for the inevitable struggle whether diplomatic, military, or other." There were to be four classes of members, the "dedicators" and the "missionaries," who could take part in all three phases of the program

at once, and "enthusiastic" and "ordinary" members, who could participate in either phase one or two, but not in phase three. He called for strict screening of members of all classes and elaborate security measures to protect its activities — except for its protests against the British, which should ring loud and clear. The principle of disassociation from the British government was paramount. Further breakdowns in membership and administrative functions were outlined and a set of rules propounded involving the various strictures already named.⁶³

In a letter which was published in *The Indian Sociologist*, Har Dayal expounded his ideas on the kind of men he thought would be best qualified to serve the proposed organization as missionaries and what they should do. The young men recruited, Har Dayal said, should put their country first, abandoning "the vulgar craving for wealth, social rank and physical comfort," and undertaking their work in a "religious spirit," with "earnestness and self-denial" as their guiding principles. He then sounded a note that was later to raise Mohandas Gandhi to the level of a saint: the young missionaries must, said Har Dayal, "conquer the hearts of the multitudes of our people, who pay sincere homage to genuine character, but are not moved by mere rhetoric."

The aspirant had to know his own country, in terms not only of its cultural heritage but also of its current economic and political problems. He should, of course, understand the force of nationalism on an international plane. Finally, Har Dayal called for celibacy, without insisting on it "as an indispensable attribute." It should, however, be the highest ideal. Those who remained with their wives should train them to "preach the gospel of Freedom" to other women. "A few of us," he added, "may adopt the thrice-blessed condition of Spiritual Marriage." As for bachelors, he urged them to remember Punch's advice to those about to marry: "Don't." Everyone should thus endeavor to sacrifice as much as he could, according to his circumstances and opportunities. In conclusion, he appealed to a time-honored tradition: "The Ideal of Renunciation is familiar to every Hindu child. Let missionaries, such as I have described above, arise and save the country from despair and destruction."⁶⁴

Har Dayal's "missionary" is an obvious combination of the traditional Hindu holy man and teacher, and the modern European "patriot." This letter is not only an extension of ideas he expressed in his "Sketch," but also of what he had written to a former Lahore College colleague, Khudadad Khan of Jassarwal, Sialkot District, after he had been in England a little more than a month, in October of 1905. He had said then that he wanted to start a college in the Punjab in opposition to the D. A. V. College in Lahore, which institution he considered "run on very narrow lines." His college was to be the "feeder" of a "society of selfless workers" to be called the "Indian *Sanyas* Services" (*sanyas* means "the abandon-

ment of worldly ties, asceticism, monasticism"). Any doubt as to how Har Dayal stood is dispelled by his statement at that time that "our object is not to reform Government, but to reform it away, leaving, if necessary, only nominal traces of its existence." Even then, Har Dayal had established "disciples" in India whom he was helping with funds "with a view to their eventual employment in political work." Khudadad served as the intermediary for the distribution of these funds, and, according to police reports, as a "missionary to win over likely young men to the 'cause.'" ⁶⁵ Although these activities and attitudes were known to Har Dayal's colleagues in Lahore and the police who intercepted his correspondence, it was when Har Dayal's letter was published in the *Indian Sociologist* that it was claimed that he "shot like a comet in the Indian political firmament." ⁶⁶

That other shining body in the London nationalist heavens, Savarkar, had not been idle. Shortly after his arrival in England he had translated Mazzini's autobiography into Marathi and sent the manuscript to his brother for publication in Poona. This translation sold at the rate of 1,000 copies per month, and it was so highly regarded that it was "taken out in processions, as if it were a sacred religious volume." ⁶⁷ His next undertaking was a history of what he was to call "The Indian War of Independence," intended to glorify Indian participation in what the British chose to call the "Sepoy Mutiny." In honor of the 50th anniversary of this momentous event in Indian nationalist history, he declared a holiday from his writing and staged a "private celebration" at India House to which his followers were invited.

A London newspaper had said that since Indian people attach great importance to dates, the government should take special care "lest some wholesale disturbance occur on that anniversary." ⁶⁸ This warning was heeded in India, and Savarkar's festivities came to a shocking end with the announcement that Lala Lajpat Rai had been arrested in Lahore that very day. Under an old East India Company provision (Regulation III of 1818), he had been taken into custody, was held in prison without being charged or tried, and summarily deported to Mandalay, in Burma. Ajit Singh, another target of the British, escaped immediate arrest but subsequently turned himself in and was subjected to the same treatment.

John Morley, the secretary of state for India, supported the Viceroy's action — taken, it was alleged, to forestall increasing unrest in the Punjab — but the howl went up in the House of Commons over this breach of habeas corpus. It irritated Morley that the deportation issue was considered "the beginning and end of our whole policy," and he commented, "It is really senseless for these politicians to argue as if India were Yorkshire or even as if it were Ireland." As the situation continued unresolved

and more Indians were deported under Regulation III, Morley evidenced serious misgivings about the whole policy.⁶⁹

As was to be expected, if English Liberals were uncomfortable, the indignation of Indian nationalists rose to new heights. Shyamaji Krishnavarma devoted three columns of the June 1907 issue of the *Indian Sociologist* to the "unjust and high-handed" action of the British, saying that it portended the downfall of British rule in India.⁷⁰ More important, however, than his own comments was the letter he published from Mme. Bhikhaiji Rustom K. R. Cama, a leader of Indian nationalists in Paris and often called the "Mother of the Indian Revolution." In "An Open Letter to the People of India," she wrote, "If we all speak bravely like Lajpat Rai, how many forts and prisons must the Government build before it can deport or confine us all? We are three hundred million strong." If Hindus, Muslims, Parsis, and Christians would realize that they were "as much Indians as Lajpat Rai," this would provide "the unity we require," she continued. "Let us all make his cause and his suffering as our own." She then articulated the policy of non-cooperation: "Friends, show self respect, and stop the whole despotic administration, by refusing to work for it in any capacity. Sever all connections with it. Tender resignations by thousands every day."⁷¹ Both the idea of flooding the jails and of non-cooperation were later to be espoused by Gandhi and become key concepts of his program. He also emphasized the need for unity and concerted action. He said that he did not hit upon the idea of non-cooperation until more than a decade after Mme. Cama's stirring plea. It was in November 1919, he said, that he realized "the only true resistance to the Government . . . was to cease to cooperate with it."⁷²

With the summary deportation of Lajpat Rai, Har Dayal became openly identified himself with the extremist movement as it was represented by the expatriate Indians. He had not signed his name to the letter in the *Indian Sociologist* about political missionaries, but his identity had been thinly veiled. He now came under police surveillance in England, and their interception of a letter to his brother provides us with not only his reactions to the deportation but a cool and thoughtful exposition of his general ideas for involving the masses of India in the nationalist movement along lines which he was already implementing and was later to elaborate. The letter, dated May 31, 1907, is illuminating.

Har Dayal began by saying that what had happened in the Punjab was nothing and that the "real repression" would come forty years hence. Interestingly enough, it was independence which was to come in that year—1947. He then launched into his belief that activities, for the nonce, should be in the hands of secret societies: ". . . every word you utter in public adds a soldier to the British Army." He went on to state categorically that

military conflict with the British was inexorable: "Our business is to prepare for that struggle quietly and rapidly and thus strike the blow when we are sure of success," adding rather fatuously: "Never bark till you can bite and never bite until you can make your teeth meet."

The real meat of his letter came in his discussion of the need for spreading propaganda and in his ideas on what should and could be done in India at that time:

At present I think this propagandism is necessary. To spread literature broadcast and to affiliate new members to the organization are the only things required. Literature is a great requisite. There is not a single text book which represents the propaganda. It will be my first task to compose short manuals of political thought on my return to India. Personal work and not mass meetings will bring your success. Men to be first contacted should be:

- (i) Clever students.
- (ii) Sons of landlords.
- (iii) Sons of rich merchants.
- (iv) Sons of priests having a large clientele.

If each man tries to instill some sort of patriotism into even three or four other young men the organisation will spread like lightning. I have a scheme of organisation which I wish to tell you of on my return to India. If you read books on Russia and Ireland you will find that we need not be frightened at the present situation. Oh for men who feel for their poor countrymen and are ready to give their money or time or talent or fervour to the cause. The workers are few and easily liable to fits of depression. . . .

. . . We should prepare six or seven short books in Urdu and Hindi and print them by lakhs [100,000's]. Let us turn out, say, ten lakhs at one time. Give each school boy and college student at least one. Then our work may be said to begin. That is the minimum. Some of our zealous men should lay aside some definite percentage of their income for political work as father used to have *gulta* for religious rites. I believe a *gulta* or two *pice* per *rupee* is not too much. Then let this money be devoted to the propagation of literature. The idea of liberty should spread — at present it is confined to a small class. When it is a living force among many, the time for action will come. Supposing you undertake to devote an hour every day in the evening and two hours on Sundays to the work of talking to some big college students on political matters and discuss with them the books they read, and supposing you give two pice out of every rupee you earn, will it be too great a burden? I think not. How many college students have in their possession even a few books on Indian politics? You cannot expect them to buy books. Some are poor, others are ignorant. Then take the entrance department boys. They should be provided for. You can take out two or three college boys or sons of raises [eminent people] for a drive every evening. Then treat them to fruits, etc., on Sundays. You will find that you have converted about twelve or more in a year. This is solid work. Man making, not speech making, is the thing.

I find the circle of those with whom I am in touch constantly increasing, because I never forget that men are my sphere. During my stay in England four men have been roused to give up their profession and become missionaries and I hope our society will go on my return.

Har Dayal interrupted himself to give his brother some confidential, personal information. He had, he said, been asked to return as director of public instruction in Kashmir State, "in order to reform education there. As it is not my rule to accept money or social honour for my work, I have recommended another friend of mine who will carry out the policy chalked out by me." This confidence, interposed in Har Dayal's outline of a propaganda program is revealing. It indicates that he was as precocious as his biographers indicate (at this time he was 23), and that he did have access to power in the establishment. He cannot be considered a frustrated seeker after position, as the British preferred to believe.⁷³ His sincerity in not desiring to enter the bureaucracy, even in a native state and in so high a position, is certainly confirmed. Since no mention of this is made in any other context, it would indicate that Har Dayal was either unimpressed by this kind of preferment or that he was able to keep his counsel. It does not surprise his kinsmen that Har Dayal's services had been sought: "We were all states people," Gobind Behari Lal commented.

Moving along on a pedantic note, Har Dayal suggested that his brother read Digby's *Prosperous British India*⁷⁴ and Natesan's *Indian Politics* and then lend these books to college students to read. He concluded his letter with the suggestion that small clay statuettes be made of extremist leaders like Lajpat Rai and Tilak and that they be sold at festivals and fairs, along with the statuettes of traditional heroic figures. He was sending 15 rupees, he said, for the initial capital investment. Other notables to be added to the line would be Gokhale, Swami Rama Tirtha, the Gaekwar, Guru Govind, and similar worthies. The project, he anticipated, would be a self-sustaining enterprise.⁷⁵

BOMB MANUAL

Although Har Dayal was never personally identified with violence, his career was both directly and indirectly influenced by the cult of the bomb. In his outline of his plan, he took a rather long view and felt that the initial emphasis should be on recruiting those of traditional leadership status, who, in turn, would propagandize through personal contacts. To the more impatient, the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh without due process became a powerful argument for action. At a public meeting of Indians held at India House in early June of 1907 it was proposed that a protest resolution be passed against the British action in invoking Regulation III. The young men at the meeting railed against

the concept of achieving anything "through mere wordy agitations and resolutions," calling attention to the fact that an Indian's "primary rights could at any time be trampled under foot in such high-handed fashion and the most popular demands on constitutional lines were thus met by throwing all laws and constitutions to the wind!" The idea of a protest resolution was dropped and, at this point, a young member of Abhinava Bharat arose and volunteered to go to Russia "to study the art of explosives and meet the Government of India even as the Russians met the Czarists." Russia, however, was obviously not the place to go at this time. Paris seemed more logical, so the young volunteer, Senapati Bapat, and two other young Indians were designated to go to the French capital to find a Russian revolutionist to initiate them into the "mysteries of bomb making."

According to the account, experimentation in this direction had been going on for some time among the Indians, and there were "several instances when premature explosions blew off a hand or the eye of the youthful experimenters left terribly mangled on the floor." Even in Paris, "many a bogus professor duped and deceived and filched away as much money as they could."⁷⁶ Finally, the Indians were successful and returned to London with a bomb manual which was cyclostyled and readied for distribution in India. When Bapat returned with the knowhow, he wanted to blow up the Houses of Parliament immediately, but Savarkar advised restraint and patience, saying, "There will no doubt be thunder and lightning in the darkness of our present condition. But what of the deadlier darkness that will descend on our mission? It will be more profitable to disseminate this art of bombmaking through our different branches of the Abhinava Bharat and equip them with a weapon which is more effective."⁷⁷

RESIGNATION FROM OXFORD

A bomb of another nature was exploded in the fall of 1907 when the announcement was made of Har Dayal's resignation of the government scholarship he held at Saint John's College, Oxford. Gobind Behari Lal was probably not exaggerating too much when he said the news was "shattering, not only in Indian circles but among the British, as well. Nobody had ever done anything like this before." There were, he said, "big write-ups all over the world. People didn't give up scholarships: all the Indians went running after them."

Actually, it was not easy for Har Dayal to convince the India Office that he wanted to resign, primarily because there was no machinery set up to handle a resignation. The whole operation required six months to consummate, and there was an exchange of well over 30 pieces of correspondence before whatever it was became effective: while it may have

been a "resignation" to Har Dayal, it was — to the end — a "forfeiture" in India Office eyes. The file opens with a letter from Har Dayal written on April 13, 1907. In most respectful terms, he asked that he be sent a copy of the conditions on which the scholarship was granted to him in 1905 and the bond which was then executed for him by his two older brothers.⁷⁸ With remarkable dispatch, the papers which he had requested were forwarded to Har Dayal, and he then wrote:

With reference to the "Articles of Agreement made the 26th day of June, nineteen hundred and five, between Har Dayal . . . of the first part and the Secretary of State for India in Council of the second part," I beg to resign the scholarship which was awarded to me in accordance with article 6 of the said "Agreement," this resignation to take effect from September 18, 1907.

I beg to inquire if I should make any payments to the Secretary of State for India under article 7 of the above-mentioned Agreement, in order that the Bond given by me and two sureties in accordance with Article 8 of the same Agreement may be null and void. I beg to state that the scholarship had not been "forfeited" but has been resigned by me.

I also beg to state that the cost of my "free passage" from India to England in September 1905 amounted to nearly £34 (thirty-four pounds). I was given a Second Class ticket from Delhi to Bombay (G. I. R. R.) and a Second (B) Saloon ticket from Bombay to London by the P. and O. Co.'s "Egypt." I am not certain if I travelled from Delhi to Bombay at the expense of the Government of India. I beg the favour of your informing me of the exact sum that represents the cost of my "free passage" from India to England.

If any payments are due from me under article 7 of the above-mentioned Agreement, I shall be much obliged if you kindly inform me when and to whom such payments should be made in order that the Bond given under article A of the Agreement may be null and void.

When the letter was received, Sir William Curzon Wyllie raised the point that the agreement which Har Dayal had signed did not provide for his voluntary resignation of the scholarship, adding, "as he will fail to complete three years residence in this country he may be held to be liable to the penalty attached to the forfeiture of this scholarship." Sir Curzon also suggested that Har Dayal be asked his reasons for resigning.

Accordingly, Sir Charles Lyall wrote to Har Dayal suggesting a meeting to which Har Dayal replied that it would be "rather inconvenient for me to come to London next week." He did appear, however, and, as a result of that visit, Sir Charles prepared a minute for presentation to the secretary of state for India and his staff in which the details of the "case" were summarized, including acknowledgment that Har Dayal's course of study had been duly approved, as had his trip to India during the

summer of 1906. It was reiterated that suspicions of disloyalty during his career in India had been investigated and found groundless. Har Dayal, the minute said, insisted that he was not forfeiting his scholarship but resigning it and, according to Sir Charles, did not give "any clear explanation of his motives." He added that "what these motives are may be gotten from his letter to his brother, which however it would be difficult to use in evidence against him."

In early September, another letter was sent to Har Dayal asking him once more to give his reasons for wanting to resign. Har Dayal was adamant: "I regret that I am unable to communicate to His Majesty's Secretary of State for India the reasons which have led me to offer my resignation of the Government scholarship that I hold," he wrote, and he again asked to be advised what he owed for his passage. The India Office then countered by apprising the obdurate Indian that since he had declined to communicate to the secretary of state for India his reasons for resigning — "in disregard of the orders of the Secretary of State" — he was to refund the cost of the journey from Delhi to London. This, of course, Har Dayal had offered to do at the time he submitted the unaccepted resignation. Correspondence was then initiated with the government of India and, by the 10th of October, Har Dayal was notified that he owed Rs. 485/15, a sum which he remitted the following day. The file was closed as far as direct communication with Har Dayal was concerned, but subsequent interchanges between the India Office and Oxford officials were revealing.

The India Office notified the president of Saint John's College that Har Dayal had been "adjudged by the Secretary of State for India to have forfeited his scholarship." Almost at the same time, Har Dayal advised Oxford officials: "I am unable to continued my studies for the Final Examination. I request the favour of your allowing me to withdraw from the college. I am sincerely sorry that I find myself unable to finish my course of studies. I hope you will kindly excuse me." Sidney Ball, senior tutor of Saint John's College, told the India Office that the official notification of the forfeiture of the scholarship had "placed us in considerable embarrassment, as no ground has been stated for the decision, and Mr. Har Dayal has become by it entirely dependent for any prospects of completing his university course." He continued:

The college has no fault to find with Mr. Har Dayal's behaviour and considers him a particularly promising and capable student who is likely to obtain high honours in June 1908.

If, as I gather, Mr. Har Dayal has forfeited his scholarship on account of political misconduct and indiscretion on his part, we should be glad if we might know the kind and degree of indiscretion (or worse) of which he is guilty, as otherwise we hardly know how far we may be justified in

encouraging or assisting him to complete his course at Oxford. He has been left without means to do so except a University Scholarship and College Exhibition he gained last year.

He represents himself as being a martyr to his political opinion and on every ground we should desire that — unless he has forfeited all claim to any consideration — he should at least be able to complete the purpose for which, at I believe considerable sacrifice, he came to Oxford.

Is there no hope that he might, in addition to his University Scholarship and College Exhibition, receive a small grant sufficient for the purpose of continuing and completing his course upon (of course) certain definite conditions?

. . . Mr. Har Dayal proposes to withdraw his name from the College, and give up his degree, and this seems to us, and in particular his tutor, the Rev. W. H. Hutton, a great pity. (I understand that he intends to return to India next month.)

I should be greatly obliged if we might be advised by yourself on the matter, whether it be your wish or your opinion that we should accept Mr. Dayal's resignation, or whether, short of his being allowed to retain the status of Government Scholar, there is any chance of his receiving any assistance. It is probable we could procure assistance for him, but, before taking that step, I venture to state the case as it presents itself to us and should be greatly obliged if you could give us some evidence — and should the case deserve it — some help in the matter.

The India Office reacted with the following minute, which was circulated among the council members:

It will be seen that Lala Har Dayal greatly misrepresented his case to the Oxford Authorities. He poses as a Martyr to his political opinions on account of which, he says, he has been deprived of his scholarship. This of course is entirely false. He took the initiative of resigning his scholarship. When asked for his reasons he refused to give them and persisted in resigning. As he was not ready to fulfill the conditions of his scholarship there was no course open but to declare it forfeited. . . .

Finally, a letter to Mr. Ball was drafted and approved by the council, incorporating emendations from almost every member from John Morley on down. It was categorically stated that no pressure had been applied to Har Dayal because of any "political misconduct or indiscretion," and that his resignation had been voluntary. Moreover, he had refused to give any reasons for his action. "In the circumstances stated," the letter concluded, "the Secretary of State in Council regrets that he would not feel justified in sanctioning any grant from Indian revenues." The matter rested when Mr. Ball acknowledged that things had been put "in a different form" than had been represented to him. Nonetheless, the legend was established that Har Dayal had been a martyr to council censorship.

Guy Aldred, the English radical and loyal supporter of the Indian cause, said that Har Dayal had surrendered his scholarship and "sacrificed the last installment of his emoluments therefrom" in disapproval of the English system of education. Har Dayal "could not pretend, for long, to a loyalty he did not feel, nor affect a respect for Christianity he could not entertain." Har Dayal, he said, was "determined to enfranchise his *Bande Mataram!* . . . to give her an intellectual life and moral conviction, to develop in her offspring opinions and the courage to express them regardless of consequences."⁷⁹

Shyamaji Krishnavarma hailed Har Dayal's action in the columns of the *Indian Sociologist* and said that he had resigned on the grounds that "no Indian who really loves his country ought to compromise his principles and barter his rectitude of conduct for any favour whatsoever at the hands of the alien oppressive rulers of India." He ended by expressing the hope that "the demoralizing effect" of Government of India scholarships would be "perceived by all who wish to see their country rise in the scale of nations."⁸⁰ Har Dayal, said Balshastri Hardas, dealt a serious blow to Oxford, which had "lost such a jewel." Har Dayal, "had, however, determined to be lost in the cause of his Mother! He cared a fig for the credit of the University."⁸¹

So it would seem. James Campbell Ker commented: "When the scholarship had only six months to run, he threw up on the grounds that he was unwilling to accept any favour at the hands of Government, but he had not done badly out of it as he had held it for two years and a half."⁸²

When decisions had to be made, Har Dayal had a tendency to write out the various considerations to be borne in mind, as, for example, in his "Minute" of December 28, 1907, in which he takes up the question of his future. He and his wife were now spending most of their time in Brighton in the interests of Sundar's health. She was pregnant and inclined to hysteria. Having resigned his scholarship, Har Dayal had no means of support beyond a small amount of money sent him from home. He indicated that he was willing to go it alone, but his wife's residence in England involved an "enormous waste of time and money," so he felt it better to take her back to India. Among other things, she was anxious that the baby be born in more familiar surroundings and under more affluent circumstances. Her family did not know of her condition but, fortuitously, her father sent a ticket so that she could return for a family wedding. Har Dayal cashed in this one second-class ticket and bought two third-class tickets, so that problem was solved.

What worried the young nationalist was whether or not he should come right back to England to manage India House and to complete his political education, as he put it. He felt that he needed to write a text before

launching his propaganda and that England furnished the "best opportunity for this work." He then detailed all of the expenses that would be involved should he return and felt that it could be worked out if he were granted a lectureship of £ 66 by Shyamaji Krishnavarma. Austerity, however, would give way. He concluded his "minute" by saying that six bedrooms in India House had to be refurnished: "This is a *sine qua non* of reform, which should be guaranteed if my return to England is to be fruitful. We want more carpets, easy chairs, towel stands, pictures, etc."⁸³

During the interim between the resignation of his government scholarship and his return to India, Har Dayal established his life-style along traditional Indian lines. He gave up English dress and wore a *dhoti* (loincloth) and *kurta* (collarless shirt) much to the alarm of his friends, who felt that these garments were not suited to the English climate during the fall and winter months. They were right: he did catch a severe cold and was to suffer from bronchial disorders periodically for the rest of his life. But, said Savarkar, there was nothing that could be done: "We were helpless before the fanatic obstinacy of young Har Dayal."⁸⁴ He also stopped eating with or accepting food from English people and reverted to a strict vegetarian diet.

But it was his costume that attracted even the attention of Ramsay MacDonald, who commented that Har Dayal's "going about London in Indian dress" and adopting what seemed to be religiously oriented practices was best interpreted as a political ploy.⁸⁵ Gobind Behari Lal continually makes the same point: that Har Dayal should never be considered to have been motivated by any kind of religious commitment. "He always spoke in terms of historical references and naturalistic arguments: no mysticism, no yoga, no Brahman, no metaphysics. Tilak would talk about God, but Har Dayal would never say anything like that — never." Lal did, however, identify Har Dayal with Tilak and Aurobindo Ghose (as a nationalist) explaining, "These men were no fools. They deliberately followed this course of glorifying history and religion to get the masses with them. They were not religious in the sense that they were devout. They cared very little for spiritual life or anything like that." In trying to explain them further, he said, "They were very much like Reformed Protestants." Har Dayal rejected theology, but he emphasized the cultural aspects of his religion, and it was these aspects he was anxious to develop and exploit in India.⁸⁶

EMERGING CHARACTERISTICS

His kinsmen support the contention that Har Dayal's nationalism became his overriding commitment as a result of his Oxford experience, although they do not see in it any kind of dramatic Pauline conversion.

He had obviously begun to develop his nationalist ideas before he left for England, but once there, he, like other Indian students, was under pressure to maintain his identification with the nationalist movement. Men like Dadabhai Naoroji, first, and then Shyamaji Krishnavarma made a deliberate effort to come in contact with their young fellow-countrymen abroad and to introduce them to their respective brands of nationalism. The arrival of Savarkar at India House gave the more impetuous and enthusiastic students a leader of their own age. Under his aegis, weekly meetings of the Free India Society were held, and from those who attended these meetings the more dedicated members of the Abhinava Bharat were recruited. At India House, the anniversaries of the sacred and quasi-sacred figures of the Punjab and Maharashtra were observed and the great Hindu festivals, such as *Dassara*, were celebrated.

Jawaharlal Nehru has been criticized for not taking part in this kind of student activity — he had entered Cambridge the year that Har Dayal resigned his scholarship. Although he was scornfully called one of the “political sucklings in their swaddling clothes resting at the breast of the West,”⁸⁶ he was by no means indifferent to politics while he was in school in England. He recounts in his autobiography that nationalist activities “stirred all of us Indians in England. Almost without exception we were Tilakists or Extremists.”⁸⁷

Savarkar may have taken the lead in stimulating extremist activity at India House, but it is obvious that Har Dayal did not consider himself a mere follower. He felt, however, that it was not enough to whip up patriotic fervor among Indians abroad, but that the work should begin in the Motherland. He seems definitely to have established the goal toward which all Indians should work: get rid of the British in India. At this time, Har Dayal did not conceive of India as being ready for any mobilization of force but rather thought that a period of education to revolution was the first step along the path to India's freedom. He seems to have been willing to move slowly and to make whatever sacrifice necessary to implement his outlined program. This does not mean that he endorsed the revolutionary constitutionalism of the moderates. Although he had underlined the phrase, “*inexorable military conflict*” in his letter to his brother, he had cautioned, “Never bark until you can bite and never bite until you can make your teeth meet.”

But the fact that Har Dayal called for both prudence and patience in his rather grandiose plan for Indian independence does not rule out impulsiveness. He was, says Lala Lajpat Rai, “a man of strong impulse. For him, to believe was to act.”⁸⁸ Har Dayal was to say later that action was the key to his personality: “Believe me, nothing but *Action* — objective *Action* — can aid spiritual growth. *Thought* and *Aspirations* are only sickly,

puny things compared with Action. And Action is impossible without a coherent view of things, and a faith born of a large vision. I find that action is the sole cure for and safeguard against spiritual sterility and intellectual stagnation. Oh how *Life* reveals truths that could *never* have been known by mere speculation and cogitation." In expanding this, he said, "I am essentially of a lyrical temperament, all intense persons are."⁸⁹

It would appear that during Har Dayal's clash with the India Office he showed an almost arrogant obstinance in his refusal to explain his reasons for wanting to resign his government scholarship and that he was playing off the members of the secretary of state for India's council against administrators at Saint John's College, Oxford. Both of these things may have been tied in with Har Dayal's burgeoning nationalism: the one to show his contempt for the Englishmen administering Indian affairs and the other an attempt to create a martyr role for himself to strengthen his position among his peers. Har Dayal was playing the resignation scene to the top-level people both at the India Office and at Oxford. He was not simply showing off for minor bureaucrats. He could have devised an acceptable excuse for not wanting to resign his scholarship, such as a trumped-up situation at home that needed his attention, his wife's illness, or even feigned illness himself. Almost anything that did not cast aspersions on the British or their system of education would probably have been sufficient reason for the secretary of state for India to allow Har Dayal to make good the travel money and return to India without any prolongation of the situation.

Har Dayal must have been aware that his obdurateness might bring to light his correspondence with his brother or with friends in India. At the same time, the India Office hesitated to bring the matter to a head by using intercepted mail. At Saint John's, Har Dayal was sufficiently well regarded that the senior tutor felt justified in interceding in his behalf. Although Har Dayal was probably trying to protect the bond put up by his brothers by not permitting the real reasons for resigning to become a part of the official record, he showed admirable control in not discussing the matter until his "case" was closed. Otherwise, the announcement of the resignation would not have been the "bombshell" it was. And he did resign, whether the British would admit it or not.

Har Dayal's identification with extremism is evident, not only in his political views but in his conduct. His almost total rejection of everything Western was more than just eccentricity, and it was worrisome to his friends and colleagues. He had little concern for his financial situation after he resigned his scholarship. Gobind Behari Lal explains his apparent indifference in this way: "He never grew out of his childhood. He always remained, in my opinion, a baby. That was the wonderful thing about him.

It was a limitation but it was also a part of his success. Practical things never bothered him. He had no need for them. He never earned a dollar; didn't have to. It is our custom that an older brother supports you. They were all well-off people and they took care of him."

Gandhi, while studying law at the Inner Temple, is legend for having set up housekeeping in a one-room establishment, where he cooked his own meals. This, however — as he says in his autobiography, was in the interest of economy, as well as vegetarianism, to which he committed himself on the basis of health. He also found companionship among English vegetarians, while Har Dayal rejected any such associations. At the time he was in England during Har Dayal's Oxford days, Gandhi had not yet quite formulated his political philosophy. He associated with both Dadabhai Naoroji and Shyamaji Krishnavarma on a basis primarily of expediency, using each to further the deputation's work in behalf of the Transvaal Indians. Gandhi seems at that time to have been concerned with dealing with particular problems of infringement of Indian rights on a legalistic basis rather than with an overall plan of action on moralistic grounds. By contrast, Har Dayal was heavily moralistic in his references to "dedication" and "sacrifice" along with traditional Hindu lines. Gandhi and Har Dayal, as far as anyone knows, never met. His most-quoted comment on Gandhi was couched in an Indian proverb: *Sau chot sonar: ek chot lohar*. (One hundred strokes of the goldsmith has no more power than one stroke of the ironsmith.) What Har Dayal was trying to say, according to those who quote him, was that it was he who had done the blacksmith's job.

PROPAGANDA 2 AT HOME AND ABROAD

HAR DAYAL RETURNED to India in January of 1908, but so much had happened in his absence that it might be well to review the political events that resulted in the moderate-extremist polarization to which reference has already been made. Har Dayal had left for England in August of 1905, just when the storm was breaking over the partition of Bengal and resentment was reaching its height over the high-handed way in which Lord Curzon handled what the British called the "Indian problem." According to all accounts, Lord Curzon, who began his term of office as viceroy in 1899, was held in reasonable esteem for the first three years or so of his tenure. After that, whatever popularity he had enjoyed gave way to thorough dislike and open hostility. His Universities Act of 1904 was aimed at eliminating abuses in what he described as "a huge system of active but often misdirected effort, over which, like some evil phantom, seemed to hover the monstrous and maleficent spirit of Cram."¹ His reforms, however, were seen by Indians as a move to curtail their educational — and, thus, preferential — job opportunities.

Before the uproar over the Universities Act had subsided, the partition of Bengal was announced. This was equally as well intended. With a population of 80 million and a territory of 189,000 square miles, Bengal seemed to Curzon to have outgrown the capacity of a single governor to administer. On the grounds, then, of efficiency, the viceroy split the province into two administrative units, even though protest movements were under way as soon as there was an inkling of what Curzon intended to do. The Bengalis could only regard it as "striking at the root of their growing solidarity of feeling" and as "calculated to overthrow their dominating political influence" they arrogated to themselves.² Surprisingly, the rest of India agreed. Curzon had little sympathy with the Indian nationalists — Bengalis, or otherwise — and once wrote, "The Congress is tottering to its fall, and one of my great ambitions is to assist it to a peaceful demise."³ He resigned in the midst of the anti-partition fury, but not because of any

pressure Indian enmity could bring to bear: he came out second best in a jurisdictional dispute with Lord Kitchener over the role of military command.

The moderates continued their policy of attempting to arouse the British public to an awareness of Indian grievances through petitions, but the extremists were not satisfied with a mere exposition of these grievances, be it in the press or Parliament. It was the extremists who initiated the movement to boycott British-made goods and to encourage Indian manufacture, which has already been identified as the policy of *swadeshi*. These concepts were rapidly expanded to eschew any association with anything British, including education and employment, and any association with any Indian who associated with the British, be he sweeper, shopkeeper, or civil servant.⁴ For the first time, then, regionalism was transcended by a coalition which almost brought the Indian National Congress "tottering to its fall," as Lord Curzon had so fervently wished.

It was obvious that the lines were becoming more sharply drawn between the petitioners and the political activists, but an actual split did not occur until the meeting of Congress in Surat in December of 1907. British officialdom's awareness of the situation is evidenced by a conversation between John Morley and Sir Austen Chamberlain, which Chamberlain recorded. Months before the Congress session in Surat, Morley had confided to Chamberlain that he felt that Congress was already split, "as all progressive parties are." He asked whether he should attempt to strengthen the hands of the moderates "by doing something, or should he do nothing and so throw everything into the hands of the extremists, who would end by getting knocked on the head with rifles and guns." Chamberlain said that the extremists always won in the long run, that Morley might, "by granting something . . . strengthen the moderates for a year or a few years," but this simply "gave new weapons to the extremists and the struggle began again."⁵ Although Chamberlain reported that Morley concurred with him, it is interesting that it was Morley who shared in the granting of the first concessions to Indian nationalism.

The confrontation at Surat was a dramatic moment in the heretofore lackluster history of Congress. The British were not the only ones aware that trouble was brewing. Congress leaders changed the venue from Nagpur to Surat because of "demonstrations of rowdiness" at the original site.⁶ But the change of venue did not lessen tensions. Chandra Chakraborty reports that he arrived at Surat the day before the proceedings were to get under way and promptly set about to corner the market on *lathis* (stout bamboo staffs). He then, with the approval of Tilak and his associates, distributed these cudgels to members of the "younger sections" of the

Mahratta and Punjabi delegates. His own Bengali group had already come armed, not only with lathis, but with the conviction that "force was the only practical way to capture Congress and to scare away the moderates who would not dare to face trouble."⁷ The lathis did not come into play until the second day of the meeting. An open clash had been averted on the first day, when adjournment was hastily called to silence the "devilish noise" made by the extremists as Sir Surendranath Banerjea attempted to second the nomination of the venerable Sir Rash Behari Ghose for the presidency. This, said Surendranath, was "an unusual experience for me," as "my appearance on a Congress platform as a speaker was usually the signal for hushed silence after the first signs of applause had subsided."⁸

The next day, the seconding speeches were completed, and Dr. Ghose was declared elected. He rose to begin his acceptance speech, the text of which had been carefully worked out in advance and was already in print, one of the reasons why Congress leaders felt impelled to insist on Dr. Ghose's election although it was well known that the extremists objected because no mention was to be made of boycott and swadeshi. The extremists had hoped to seize the presidency and were prepared to propose either Lala Lajpat Rai or Aswani Kumar Dutt as alternates to Dr. Ghose.⁹ Before the new president had completed his salutations, Tilak jumped to the platform to move an amendment to the presidential election, but he was ruled out of order. At this point, a shoe flashed through the air and struck two of the most distinguished moderates: the aforementioned Sir Surendranath and Sir Pherozeshah Mehta. The extremists held the shoe had been aimed at Tilak; the moderates, that it had been intended for either or both of the gentlemen it hit. The lathis now came into play, and Henry W. Nevin-son, the liberal British journalist who was attending the meeting, takes up the story: "Leaping, climbing, hissing the breath of fury, brandishing the sticks, they came, striking at any head that looked to them Moderate, and in another moment, between brown legs standing upon the green-baize table, I caught glimpses of the Indian National Congress dissolving in chaos."¹⁰ It was to survive, however, to split again another day.

Moderate leaders met and arranged to hold a convention the next day, and after a prolonged deliberation a constitution was drawn up. Its first article came to be known as the "creed" of Congress. This stated that self-government within the empire was the goal of Congress and that it was to be attained by constitutional means. It was obligatory that everyone sign this creed before he could consider himself a member of Congress. The extremists — the major exception being Lala Lajpat Rai — refused to sign, and it was not until the meeting of the Congress in 1916 that the moderates and extremists were reunited. Nevin-son observed that "All

felt that Congress would never be the same. In the twinkling of a shoe it had been changed, and a new spirit, a different and difficult spirit, had indeed arisen in the country."¹¹ The extremists also met after Congress had adjourned *sine die* and drew a surprising 1,000 adherents, of whom 300 were delegates.¹² The report by British intelligence stated that the election of the president was a "pretext put forward by the Extremists for causing a disturbance" adding and underlining: "*The real rock on which the Congress split was the question whether the national movement is to proceed on constitutional lines or not.*"¹³

POLITICAL MISSIONARY

When he returned to India — in dhoti and kurta — Har Dayal was not welcomed with joy by his family. His father-in-law was particularly upset and felt that his daughter's life had been ruined. She was gathered up and taken home while Har Dayal, unperturbed by the family reaction, apparently gave up any idea of an immediate return to England and set about to establish himself in his new role as a self-styled "political missionary." This was in late January or early February of 1908. He first met with Tilak to discuss plans. Tilak was obviously impressed and wrote back to Shyamaji Krishnavarma that he expected Har Dayal to develop into a leader in the Punjab and that he would "prove a tower of strength to the Nationalist Party generally."¹⁴ Har Dayal also conferred with other leaders in India. As the story is told by Savarkar, it reveals a certain regional bias. After quoting an English official as having said that Maharashtrians "were at heart one with the other," Savarkar continued:

... I am reminded of a similar utterance of [a] great patriot of India. . . . Hardayal told me much about Tilak. He narrated to me about him the following story. While in India Hardayal once went to Poona to pay a visit to Tilak. And then he paid a similar visit to his rival Gokhale. He had travelled all over India paying visits to the leaders of India in opposite camps. And he had heard from them nothing but abuse and misrepresentation of one another. But Tilak and Gokhale were free from this foible. Each of them tried in his own way to persuade Hardayal to join his own party, but not a word they breathed about each other to traduce character or misrepresent work. Not a word of malice or vilification escaped their mouth. On the other hand, what they spoke of one another was full of appreciation and reverence. Tilak said, "Do see Gokhale once." And Gokhale said, "You have done well in seeing Tilak." And he added, "That you have put up with him is as it should be, for the next generation is going to be his." After telling me this story, Hardayal remarked, "The conviction that we are before our common enemy, I find deep-rooted in the heart of the Maharashtrian alone, and it is not so evident anywhere else in India. The Marathas forget their petty jealousies and quarrels in a national cause."¹⁵

It was commonly considered that Har Dayal would immediately establish an ashram in Lahore, which would be the center of revolutionary activity in the Punjab. He was eventually drawn there, but he went first to Delhi and then to Kanpur. He depended for support and income from his subcaste members and the various connections which both he and they had made among princely officials and *baniyas* (members of the business community). Notable among this group was Amir Chand, a teacher of history at Saint Stephen's High School. His father, Hukum Chand, was one of the highest officials of Hyderabad, a great jurist and author of *Res Judica*. He was a wealthy man and an indulgent father. Master Chand's house in Delhi, Gobind Behari Lal says, was "a kind of Jacobin club where anybody could go when he was short. We slept there, we ate there. He didn't ask any questions."

Lal thinks it was Amir Chand who provided Har Dayal with funds to set himself up in Kanpur. His ashram there was a house made available to him by the father of one of his Indian colleagues in London, a young man of a Kashmiri Brāhman family named Manorharlal Chak. Lal was with Har Dayal in Kanpur, as was Tara Chand. Tara Chand and Har Dayal were brothers-in-law, married to sisters. A third "disciple" was Charanji Lal, who had been a student in the Forman Mission School in Lahore. Both Tara Chand and Lal think that there was a fourth who resided with them but don't remember exactly who it was, as young men were coming and going, and it was a long time ago. Actually, only three other young men have been identified in either police records or the *Sedition Report* as having lived on a more or less permanent basis either in Kanpur or Lahore. These were Jotendra Mohan Chatterji of Saharanpur and Dwarka Nath Bose of Meerut, both sons of pleaders, and a young man named Dina Nath who, along with Charanji Lal, was "reclaimed" by his father. Dina Nath later turned informer. These are the only young men who are identified by name in most documents concerned with Har Dayal's activities in the Punjab in 1908. One report stated, however, that "about eight young men have thrown in their lot" with Har Dayal.¹⁶

The accounts of the Kanpur stay given by Gobind Behari Lal and Tara Chand are substantially the same. The young men read and discussed books on history — primarily European history — economics, and government. They worked with the standard Western text books on those subjects at that time. They talked a lot about the French Revolution, says Lal, "Danton, Robespierre, and all that kind of thing." Har Dayal was young and "sizzling with ideas." Lal says that he was "puzzled" by Har Dayal's intense Hinduism at that time: "He especially seemed to hate Muslims; he called them 'traitors' and didn't even want to talk about them." Lal tells a story to indicate that Har Dayal's "intense Hinduism"

was not deeply rooted in religion. A young business man of Kanpur, an Arya Samajist, came to talk with Har Dayal, who encouraged such visits from people in all walks of life. This young man said that since the *Vedas* are the source of all wisdom and knowledge, the secret of the railways must be in the *Vedas*, too. Har Dayal, Lal says, burst out: "How dare you insult the *Vedas* like that? Don't you know that the British railways are an instrument of military dictatorship and exploitation in the country? The British take our wealth by the railways. They started the railways to keep us down. You think such things are in the *Vedas*?" This was Har Dayal's tactic, Lal said. "He did not argue. He simply hit that poor fellow on the nose with words. Later I said to Har Dayal, 'That was no reply.' But for Har Dayal it was a reply. He wanted to shift him from that kind of thinking to the purpose of government."

Lal went on to say that Har Dayal, at that time, wanted to have "a new kind of *shastra* or *sutra* in Sanskrit to teach the dear Brāhmans of Benares something useful by translating the modern sciences into Sanskrit. Har Dayal believed in them," said Lal, "so did Aurobindo. He believed that there was life in those old duffers and that he could use them. That was his theory." The Kanpur group broke up in early April after having been at the Chak house for not much more than six weeks. Gobind Behari Lal left to go to Allahabad where Motilal Nehru was hosting a Congress conference in an effort to heal the Surat breach between the moderates and extremists. The others went with Har Dayal to Lahore, where Har Dayal followed much the same pattern of life he had established at Kanpur except that it was more austere. He rented a room and had only a mat on which he slept. In early July, he moved from the city to a house located a few miles southwest of the Civil Lines and, according to police reports, continued to receive students there.¹⁷

Accounts that students sought him out by the hundreds are considered to be somewhat exaggerated. Believed to be the most accurate account of Har Dayal's activities is that given by Hanwant Sahai, who is credited by British officialdom as having been a member of Har Dayal's group. Actually, says Gobind Behari Lal, Sahai was more an acquaintance than a close associate. He was a very patriotic merchant and banker who gave up a significant source of income by his refusal to deal with the British when he honored the swadeshi and boycott pledges. He provided Har Dayal with some financial support and remained, even as a very old man, his dedicated admirer. Sahai wrote that Har Dayal

established his centre of activities at Lahore and preached non-cooperation with the British government and its educational and judicial institutions, etc. Quite a number of young men and students from Punjab and other

provinces responded to his call, and giving up their callings and studies actively participated in his campaign of patriotic agitation. On the constructive side of his programme he exhorted his followers to serve his famished countrymen in every possible manner, and asked them to use swadeshi articles and their own language, Hindi or Urdu instead of English in mutual communication and all other spheres of life.

In the famine that was raging during that period in Kangra and some other districts he organized a relief party and went with his band of workers to give succour to his needy countrymen.¹⁸

A more effusive account of Har Dayal as a political missionary likened him to a "preaching friar" wandering over the land, asking, "What good are your degrees, your careers, those crumbs from your taskmasters, the British, when your land of noble ancient culture lies prostrate under an alien yoke?", and exhorting, "Rise and liberate your motherland in chains like Prometheus bound." This, it was added, "required phenomenal daring to utter such heresies then."¹⁹

Guy Aldred also used the same terms in describing Har Dayal as he was in India in 1908, calling him "a wandering friar of freedom," whose duty it was "to build character by personal example and influence and so drive home the meaning of duty, principle, and public spirit, by ignoring court intrigue and politics."²⁰ There were others who mentioned Har Dayal's role as a "model" for the young men with whom he associated: "He lived a life of purity and wanted others to do the same."²¹ Aldred referred to Har Dayal's "renunciation," saying that he "put aside affection for his wife, their little daughter, and his brothers and sisters, to become a mendicant agitator."²² Mme. Cama, in a later tribute, also referred to this, saying that at this time he had "broken the bonds which attached him to his family and had given up a sweet and devoted mate," and not only the brothers and sisters to which Aldred had referred, but also "a large number of childhood friends."²³ Har Dayal, himself, supported this legend when he, too, later said that he and his wife "became imbued with the conviction that it was their duty to devote their lives to the improvement of the lot of the Hindu people, and, finally, in a spirit of highest idealism, they renounced each other and agreed to take up separately the cause to which they were committed, believing that by living apart they could accomplish greater results."²⁴

Members of Har Dayal's family believe that most of this was a part of the Har Dayal "image," which was the product of his devoted disciples and which had reached such proportions that it was difficult to deny. Har Dayal and his wife were living separately, but this was primarily because they both felt that Sundar was better off to be with her family during her pregnancy. The "little daughter" was not born until a few days before

Har Dayal left India for good — he never saw her. As for the rest of his family, Har Dayal was in very close touch with them all and, as has been indicated, two of his kinsmen — albeit by marriage — were living with him at Kanpur, and one of these remained with him in Lahore. Gobind Behari Lal confirms that Har Dayal visited Delhi periodically and maintained close contact with his brother Kishan. He did, however, follow an austere way of life and was, perhaps, now ready to declare his continence.

Throughout his six or seven months stay there Har Dayal carried out the plan which he had set to broaden the base of nationalist participation: he concentrated his energies on young men of substantial family background (closely identified with his own, actually), and he set for his disciples the moral example which he felt to be necessary if a political missionary were to be effective. He relied essentially on person-to-person contact, rather than mass meetings, to build up a cadre. In this connection, he was to say later, "You must not think that I attach much importance to public lectures. A lecture is only a kind of drum to get people together. The real work begins with the slow interpenetration of personalities."²⁵ And it was on this interpenetration of personalities that Har Dayal based his work during his stay in India. Still later, he was to refer to his belief in the importance of oral communication, a hallmark of the Hindu cultural tradition: "I sometimes hate the bookishness of the modern world, and long for the spoken word. In olden times, a man wanted to tell others of his message: now we think of writing it down first! But I have found that true teaching is oral (thus agreeing with Socrates)."²⁶

An important aspect of the nationalist movement with which Har Dayal identified was the shift of leadership — especially in extremist ranks — to younger men. The young extremists, for the most part, represented the same class of English-educated financiers, landowners, professional men, journalists, and teachers in colleges and universities, but they represented a significantly different age group, not necessarily having the same aims as their fathers and older brothers. They were, perhaps, more sensitive to what they considered the arrogance of the alien British and less willing to accept inferior roles. It was to this group that Har Dayal appealed. It is interesting that he felt the most fruitful sources for prospects for the nationalist cause were the colleges and universities and that he did not go much beyond the social class from which he himself came.

Pleaders and barristers remained a point of contact for Har Dayal in the various communities through which he circulated, even though he was particularly scathing in his comments on legal practitioners. They were seen by the British as the "natural intermediaries between people and government,"²⁷ and while many with law degrees rose as nationalist leaders, the larger number, according to Har Dayal, were sycophants and

proselytes. The British, he claimed, encouraged young Indians to seek legal educations abroad in order to hold them in thrall. The plan, he said, was to throw young Hindus into the English social milieu, to encourage them to dress in Western clothes, eat English food, and speak the English language. Having thus become Anglicized, they "would begin to look down upon their coreligionists and would become the slaves of the English not only from a political point of view but from the moral and economic standpoint also." The object of all of this was "to disgust them with the Hindu nation and religion and make them associate with the English."²⁸

In another article, Har Dayal listed the areas in which those seeking to become barristers "through avarice or ignorance" were helping the British achieve rather striking results. They created the impression that the British courts in India administered justice, he said, thus bringing Hindu law into discredit. They involved their countrymen in the "meshes of the British courts," thus committing "the most heinous sin of siding with foreigners and colluding with the latter to plunder the children of the soil." More than that, they followed Christian usages for, he averred, "they cannot become barristers unless they go against their religion." Finally, Har Dayal said that even though the Indians had lost their country, "they should not part with their *izzat* [honor, dignity], which is the most valuable asset of the nation, by salaaming to Englishmen indiscriminately and standing before them like *khansamas* [butlers, stewards]."²⁹ In spite of all this rhetoric, Har Dayal continued to draw heavily on his brothers, all of whom were lawyers, and the broader Kayastha spectrum which provided much of the membership of the profession.

Har Dayal's indictment of Christians and Christianity was reflected in his way of life in Lahore, where there was a sign on the outside of his house which read: "No admission to Europeans or Christians." The story is often told that he "turned out" his one-time friend and former master, the principal of Saint Stephen's College, and had his mats and the floor of the room thoroughly washed after the incident. Gobind Behari Lal confirms that this actually happened but says that Har Dayal did not do this on any religious grounds: "He never worshipped; never said a prayer; the words, 'Ram, Ram,' never entered his mind or passed his lips. He never read the *Vedas*. He never bothered with the *Gita*. When he turned out Professor Rudra it was simply that he did not want anyone who had joined forces with the enemy to come to him." In actuality, said Lal, Har Dayal very much admired the dedication and commitment of his masters at Saint Stephen's and their ability to convert. In some ways they served as models for his projected "political missionary."

Har Dayal was even then beginning to formulate his remarkable

theories on social conquest, as reflected by the article he wrote called, "The Rulers and the Ruled." Englishmen, he said, knew very little about India but what they did know, they turned to good account. For instance, he said, "they know that India has come down to them as a heritage and that its people are to be ruled for the benefit of Anglo-Indians. They regard the country as another El Dorado and look upon the Indian Civil Service as a foundation stone for future eminence and fame." Every Englishman dreaded the thought of losing India: "He knows that England's greatness as a power in the world is mainly due to her possession of India, and consequently Englishmen are loth to give full liberty to the country."

Har Dayal then warned his countrymen that British support of Congress was merely an indication of its "mistaken policy," and said that the newspaper, *India*, started with the idea of enlightening the British public, just served to stimulate the few statesmen who read it to tighten, rather than slacken, their hold on the country. He had little to say of the effectiveness of deputations sent to England: "The people of that country either totally disbelieve Indians who bring their grievances to their notice, or, if they believe their story, they despise them for meekly submitting to the alleged illtreatment and not making a vigorous effort to get the grievances redressed of which they complain." Administrators on the ground in India knew, however, that without arms no action could be taken by Indians and that "their petty outbursts of restlessness can be easily crushed." There was, in short, little reason for anything but contempt: "British rule has been firmly established in the country and the Government is fully confident of its power."³⁰

Another theme which Har Dayal developed centered around what he called "national history." In June of 1908 he articulated a concept that Mahatma Gandhi was to elaborate and use with great effectiveness. This was the idea that India was responsible for its own condition. He came perilously close to the idea of the purity of the means when he said that if a nation loses its power, wealth, and honor, "it cannot regain same by accusing its conquerors of bad faith and treachery." An oppressed people whose "young men and virgin girls are made slaves by their conquerors," whose children "cry for want of food," and whose religion has been "insulted," should "reflect calmly and find out the causes of their being in such disgraceful plight." A nation of thousands of millions, Har Dayal said, "cannot be conquered even by the whole world unless it has been first attacked by avarice, laziness, selfishness and cowardice. It is these vices which sap the vitality of a nation and leave it an easy prey for conquerors."

The study of national history, Har Dayal said, "keeps alive the virtues

Propaganda at Home and Abroad

on which the life of a nation depends." Political progress, as well, he went on to say, was dependent on moral advancement:

. . . even small nations, which had neither wealth nor arms, have been known to conquer large nations, simply owing to their superior morals. On the contrary, if a nation does not possess high morals, its forts, its temple, its treasuries and its arsenals can avail it nothing. Its temples are pulled down and its debris is used for making graves for its sons. Its treasuries are plundered by its enemies and the contents of its arsenals are used in blowing up its houses and bringing down its downfall. On the contrary, if a nation is possessed of good qualities it is not only able to protect itself, but also to help others.³¹

Har Dayal then called upon his countrymen to consider it their religious duty to study the ancient history of India "so that they may know themselves and may not place their children at the feet of English teachers to learn Western arts and sciences." He assured his readers that Indians would regain their position as the teachers of the world and said that those who had "the shamelessness and meanness to go on begging" for European knowledge were "misleading the nation and its young men."³² Continuing on this theme, he said in another article that a nation which numbered among its people "plenty of just, truthful and God-fearing men must always prosper. God confers the gifts of power and property only on those nations which value and obey His moral laws." In order to raise themselves, Har Dayal said, his fellow countrymen must reform their character. To preclude the dispersal of the Indian nation, he called upon its rich natives to banish famine from the country and its young men to devote themselves to the service of their country.³³

The service to which Har Dayal referred was not the famed Indian Civil Service. To the contrary, in a series of articles he systematically indicted those "children of the soil" who sought and accepted positions in the governmental bureaucracy. Har Dayal pointed out that Hindus were deliberately recruited in preference to Christians or Eurasians to keep them from becoming active in the Indian movement toward self-government: "Those who feel proud of their country and nation are cured of this pride by accepting service under government, while those who would have used their gifts and abilities in rousing their countrymen have their whole time taken up in writing judgements or doing other government work."³⁴ Every European boy knows that it is a "great sin" to serve under foreign rule, he said, and pondered why this "should be so very difficult for the Indian mind to grasp." Their slowness in grasping this "simple truth" he attributed to "the moral and intellectual degradation of the

natives." He next pointed out that government service injuriously affected national morality: "It is also synonymous with selfishness, and it is the opinion of all thoughtful men that as long as Indians are selfish they should not aspire after *Swaraj* [self-rule]." Har Dayal then turned on R. C. Dutt, a man for whom he had once expressed his admiration, asking: "Is it not disgraceful that those very persons who denounce government's policy in their writing should be willing to offer their services to carry out the same, for it is government servants who translate that policy into action?" He concluded this discussion by saying that the Europeans were far superior to Indians in this respect, since they would rather resign than help forward a policy which they disapproved.³⁵ In a final thrust, he deplored the fact that India had no leaders, because those who were qualified by education and position "to make common cause with the people" were siphoned off into government jobs, thus demoralizing young men by their example.

The able men of India, Har Dayal said, had abrogated their roles of leadership and instead of leading the army, they had become orderlies. Then he added that India would have been better off if the civil service had been reserved for Europeans and if the "ships which conveyed Indian noblemen to England in order that they might appear in the Civil Service examination had gone down to the bottom of the sea." This must have struck at the hearts of his peers, most of whom aspired to government roles. Ironically, it was their concern about exclusion from the civil service that gave the initial impetus to nationalism.³⁶

Of all Har Dayal's writings which appeared in the Lahore newspapers during his stay in India in 1908, none attracted greater attention than the series published in Lajpat Rai's *Panjabee*, later brought together in book form under the title *Our Educational Problem*. For Har Dayal, the ethical aspect of education could not be ignored. Rather pontifically, he declared that the first objective of education should be "to impress on the mind of every child the sanctity of his duty to humanity which may be translated into theological language as his duty towards God." He then went on: "As the soul is the immortal part of man, as morality must take precedence of the intellect in all systems of conduct, we must place the gradual evolution of the sense of duty to mankind as the primary object of a healthy educational system." Otherwise, India would be a nation of "moral and intellectual pygmies, contemptible creatures whose lives are short, miserable, and brutish." *Dharma*, he said, would protect the race which kept it alive: "But this great *Dharma* of universal charity and goodwill, this idea of *Ahimsa* [nonviolence], cannot be realised by an individual, unless he first establishes particular relations with the smaller social unit of which he forms a part."

This, of course, is a statement of the basic Hindu concept of ethics, emphasizing *dharma*, a difficult word to define but which has the con-

notation of duty, action, or function — of expected behavior — according to the life circumstances of a particular individual. Har Dayal translated this in terms of “duty to mankind.” He also brings to bear the concept of nonviolence, which is most commonly associated with Gandhi, who also defined it in social terms.

After setting the stage in this manner, Har Dayal excoriates the British educational system, saying that it was “one huge octopus which *is sucking out the moral life-blood of the nation.*” The spectacle of young Indians committing social, moral, and intellectual suicide in the schools and colleges, he said, moved him to tears. In short, the system was depriving the Hindu of his cultural heritage and, of course, his morality.

The articles go on in this highly repetitious vein until toward the end of the series Har Dayal turns on Congress, attacking many of the moderates by name and saying that they were little more than “political buffoons and mimics,” the products of “this blessed educational system.” Once again he refers to India as a “fallen nation” needing “self-help, self-respect, and the power to stand on its own legs for its political regeneration.”³⁷

Another article which appeared in the *Panjabee* at this time was entitled, “Public Life and Private Morals.” This was reprinted in the December 1908 issue of the *Hindustan Review* under the heading, “The Kayastha World.” The magazine was published by and for members of Har Dayal’s caste. In the preface, the editors indicated that they agreed “in the main” with Har Dayal’s views and commended them to their readers. The basic theme was that which again reflected the Gandhian concept of the purity of the means and echoed much of what Har Dayal had already written.

It mattered not, Har Dayal said, whether one attacked the problems of India under the banner of the moderates or the extremists: “These labels and agitations and party-intrigues are mere froth and foam on the surface of the vast and deep national life of India which continues its course in conformity with dharma . . .” Calling for morality in public life, he said, “Politics disassociated from high ethics is mere claptrap, and politicians whose daily life is not pure and noble are but as sounding brass and tinkling cymbal.” It is interesting that he would select a New Testament figure of speech in the light of his rejection of all things Christian.

Har Dayal also took up the theme that the “political teacher” must reflect the highest ideal in his own personal life and concluded by saying, “Let nationalists be known as men of noble character, austere, truthful, sincere and generous and we shall conquer the hearts of our people in no time without any political discussion.”³⁸

RETURN TO THE WEST

If there was a consistent theme in Har Dayal’s writing at this time, it was one of almost cloying piety. In nearly every context he subtly injected

himself as the model for the commitment he espoused. His own rejection of government preferment may have given weight to some of his pronouncements, and his reputation as a scholar may also have given credence to his comments, but to the British publication of such views was seen in a more iniquitous light. Relatively speaking, the year Har Dayal chose to return to India was a quiet one — at least to begin with. The uproar of the previous year over the deportation of Lajpat Rai and Ajit Singh had subsided, but officials did not know how soon the silence would be broken — this time, by the boom of a bomb.

At the end of April 1908, two English women — Mrs. Pringle Kennedy and her daughter Grace — were killed in the explosion. The assassins mistook the Kennedy carriage for that of the magistrate of Muzzaffarpur, for whom the bomb was intended. This began a series of repressive measures incorporated in the Explosive Substances Bill and a bill calling for more stringent control of newspapers to prevent “incitements to murder and other offences.”³⁹ Tilak was brought in and jailed, and the British, says Gobind Behari Lal, now began to make a sharper distinction between the moderates and extremists with a view to “cultivating the former and exterminating the latter.” Hanwant Sahai says that a Muslim member of the Viceroy’s Executive Council had reason to think that Har Dayal might be the victim of British “malevolent designs” and sent word to Lajpat Rai that “Lala Har Dayal is on the brains of the topmost authorities. Send him abroad to save his valuable life.”⁴⁰

The repressive bills were passed in July, and Har Dayal was on his way back to England on August 15. British Criminal Investigation Department reports indicate a certain bewilderment at Har Dayal’s abrupt withdrawal from the scene and were apparently unaware of what was “on the brains of the topmost authorities.” They were equally as bewildered at the departure of others, including Lajpat Rai and two other prominent Punjabis and their wives. It was also noted that Bipin Chandra Pal and Ganesh S. Khaparde were already in England. Two theories were advanced as to the meaning of this “sudden exodus.” One was that these men formed a delegation that would “endeavour to induce the Home Government to announce substantial concessions” on the occasion of a *darbar* (reception, audience) to be held by the Viceroy at Agra November 10. The other theory was that “the present situation in India is being compared with that which existed in America immediately before the War of Independence when, it is said, the failure of a deputation from that country, which visited England to represent the grievances of the Colonies to the Home Government, brought about the war. The Indian agitators propose to resolve themselves into a similar deputation; and they prophesy a similar result if their demands do not receive a satisfactory hearing.”⁴¹

The fact that Lajpat Rai, Har Dayal, and the others left at approximately the same time was apparently a coincidence: each had his own reason for leaving, and in each case it involved either personal safety or private business, except for Khaparde, who went to England to plead the case of Tilak, jailed under the provisions of the recently enacted bill to control newspapers.

Har Dayal said that the reason he left India was that "repressive laws and spies were making further work impossible within the country." He described himself as having spent his time there "writing and speaking against the despotic and predatory government that crushes the people of India."⁴² For their part, the British seemed equally as frustrated and not too sure of their course. Wilfrid Scawen Blunt, sympathetic with the nationalist aims of India, said, for example, that he had sought out the "old Kipling" — John Lockwood Kipling, the father of Rudyard — in August of 1908, the month of Har Dayal's departure. Blunt said that he hoped that the old man, whom he described as "a typical Anglo-Indian" could shed some light on the situation and, perhaps, suggest "a remedy to apply to the present condition of things," but

like all the rest, however, he has no remedy to propose beyond "severe repression" for the time being, though he does not pretend that this will cure the disease. He puts down its causes: (1) The Japanese victories, (2) Education, and (3) Official lack of time to be polite; these are the common explanations, but for none of them has he a remedy. The Japanese victories are a fact not to be denied, the education given cannot be withdrawn, the lack of race sympathy cannot be mended. He admits the necessity of a new policy, but can suggest none.⁴³

The remedy suggested by the Indian nationalists was obviously not acceptable.

According to Gobind Behari Lal, Har Dayal did not want to leave India at that time, not only because of the impending birth of his daughter but because he was hopeful of continuing his work in the Punjab. He felt that he had been forced into publicity prematurely by Lajpat Rai and that he had not received the backing that both Lajpat Rai and Shyamaji Krishnavarma had promised. They assured him, Har Dayal told Lal, that they would tide him over until he completed the preparations he felt were necessary in order to launch his propaganda campaign. He had gone on record with a plan which he had hoped to implement, stage by stage, and had begun by recruiting a nucleus of young men who would eventually give strength to his base. He felt that he had been too soon thrown into an exposed position. "There were just a few immature, emotional boys like us, and we couldn't do anything for him," Lal said. "It was an unprepared movement, but Har Dayal tried to make the best of it."

This calls into being the relationship between Har Dayal and Lala Lajpat Rai, which both Tara Chand and Gobind Behari Lal think has never been correctly evaluated. Har Dayal, they point out, was a leader, not a follower, and they consider it a distortion of the situation to think of Har Dayal as operating in the Punjab as a satellite to Lajpat Rai. Lal says: "I will tell you about Lajpat Rai: he was both cautious and daring. He had that kind of push which rendered him useless and finally cost him his life. He was murdered for no reason. A man like him should not have been involved in a street brawl.⁴⁴ It was silly and wasteful. But that was the way he was. He was overcautious many times and would hold back, and then he would suddenly do something rash."

In all fairness to Lajpat Rai, it should be remembered that he did not claim Har Dayal as a "disciple." He took pains to contradict police reports (subsequently incorporated in the *Sedition Committee Report*) that Har Dayal and his young followers had lived at Lajpat Rai's house in Lahore. The report had it that Banke Behari Chatterji had "ordered" his son, J. M. Chatterji, to go home "on discovering that he was staying with Har Dayal in the house of Lajpat Rai." Denying this, Lajpat Rai said: "I am prepared to swear and to prove that Chatterji did not stay in my house even for a single night. He came there a few times with Har Dayal. Har Dayal was at that time living in a house he had rented for himself in the native city. . . ."⁴⁵

Intelligence reports suggest that Har Dayal's relationship with Lajpat Rai was more of a "show" on Har Dayal's part, as they felt his views to be considerably more extreme.⁴⁶ Lajpat Rai had signed the Congress "creed" and was beginning to lose his extremist identification. Nonetheless, he remained the central figure in Punjabi nationalist activities because of his role as a publisher and his influence with other publishers and editors in the area, notably Sufi Amba Prasad.

There is something less than unanimity as to whom Har Dayal left in charge of his activities in the Punjab. One account has it that the mantle of leadership fell on the shoulders of J. M. Chatterji, who was to continue the work in consultation with Ajit Singh and Sufi Amba Prasad.⁴⁷ Another says that Har Dayal entrusted the "threads of organization" to Amir Chand and Hanwant Sahai in Delhi.⁴⁸ The fact that there was no clear leader to take Har Dayal's place indicates, as Gobind Behari Lal suggested, that the group of men — and boys — around him were not too tightly organized. It remained for Rash Behari Basu, brought into the movement by Chatterji, to weld the group into an actual revolutionary unit, however abortive their efforts may have been.

Har Dayal left India, writing as he went. He had begun a series of articles on national education for *Hindustan*, similar to those published

in the *Panjabee*. He mailed one from Aden, one from Port Said, and a third from England soon after his arrival.⁴⁹ There were more to come on other subjects after he had reestablished himself.

SAVARKAR AND INDIA HOUSE

When Har Dayal returned to England at the beginning of September of 1908, he did not take over the management of India House as he once suggested had been his plan. His friend Savakar was now in complete control of the establishment, and the extreme Hindu nationalism which he espoused was reflected in most of the activities centered there. Pandit Shyamaji Krishnavarma had been gone from London for more than a year; his departure, it is generally conceded, was prompted by fear of reprisal for the stand which he had taken on the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh. Shyamaji preferred to recall that this was not the case and that he had simply left London in mid-July of 1907 because he had been "fully persuaded that no Indian who cherishes an ardent desire to see his country liberated from the thrall of foreign despotism could ever be safe in the British Isles."⁵⁰

It is well to note that questions about the *Indian Sociologist* had been raised in Parliament and the suggestion made that the public prosecutor proceed against its editor. The suggestion was not acted upon at that time, and Krishnavarma continued to edit his publication from the French capital. He denied allegations that he was "anti-British" by reaffirming his adulation of Herbert Spencer and similar "ornaments" of the British race.⁵¹

Not so Savakar, for whom there were no such English idols. Having first taken care of the distribution of the bomb manual, he now set about to collect firearms and arrange that they be smuggled into India,⁵² and young Indians associated with India House began target practice with revolvers at a range in London.⁵³ Bomb-making apparently was going on, because it was reported that Savakar often appeared at weekly meetings of the Abhinava Bharat with picric acid stains on his fingers.⁵⁴ Although it may well have been hindsight, there are those who say that Savakar was even then conscious of the imminence of war in Europe and that he and his followers were hoping to "take advantage of the world situation and fight out the Britishers and win back the independence of their Motherland."⁵⁵ •

While launching preparations for war, Savakar did not neglect propaganda activities. In all of his writings, he continuously exhorted the young patriots of India to develop their "manliness," and keep their fervor at the highest pitch thus devoting their full energy to the liberation of their "Motherland." Savakar's constant reference to "the Motherland" quali-

fies him as one of the "Mother Worshipers," a term coined by Lala Lajpat Rai to identify a group of nationalists usually associated with the Bengal.⁵⁶ Although a Maharashtrian, Savarkar was quick to use Bankim Chandra Chatterji's *Bande Mataram* (*Hail Motherland*) as the "national hymn," and this song was frequently heard to resound through the halls of India House and invariably used to open every meeting or conference. The two words, *Bande Mataram*, became the shibboleth of the extremists and were used in greeting and salute in much the same way the Nazis used *Heil Hitler*.

A unique aspect of Savarkar's program was the effort made to enlist sympathy for India's cause outside the United Kingdom. The moderates of the Dadabhai Naoroji school — and even Shyamaji Krishnavarma with his fixation on Spencer — concentrated their efforts on appealing to the finer sensibilities of the "good" Englishmen. Savarkar, however, recognized that the supporters of the free-India cause were on the periphery of British politics and were tied to international movements, so he exploited every facet of the radical press on a worldwide basis. He found ready-made support among the more experienced Irish agitators, and thus the *Gaelic American*, published in New York City, became a willing champion of the Indian cause. At about the same time, Indian immigrants to Canada were beginning to develop propaganda media which were later to be extended into publications emanating from cities on the west coast of the United States. Savarkar's "vigorous political articles" were translated for publication in Germany, France, Italy, Russia, and Portugal, as well.⁵⁷ Savarkar maintained close contact with expatriate nationalists on the Continent and gained valuable support from students and sympathizers in the United States and most of the European countries. The extent and importance of this international propaganda, which had its focal point at India House, was not fully realized by either the Indians or the British until the outbreak of World War I in 1914.

British intelligence reports of Har Dayal's activities in India in 1908 say that he had been "engaged in writing the Indian version of the Mutiny, which, when completed, will be translated in all languages and circulated throughout India."⁵⁸ The chances are, however, that Har Dayal was not actually writing such a document but that he may have been contacted in connection with the publication of what is generally considered Savarkar's masterpiece, *The Indian War of Independence*, which he had completed earlier that year.

Savarkar explained that his object in writing the book was "to inspire his people with a burning desire to rise again and wage a second and a successful war to liberate their Motherland." A second objective was "to place before the revolutionists an outline of the programme of organisa-

tion and action to enable them to prepare the nation for a future war of liberation.”⁵⁹ This confirms the military stance attributed to him. His book was written in Marathi, and selected chapters were translated into English and read at open meetings of the Free India Society at India House.

David Garnett, then 17, was present at one of these readings. Savarkar, he says, was “small, slight in build, with very broad cheekbones, a sensitive, refined mouth and an extremely pale skin, which was almost as pale as ivory on the forehead and cheekbones but darker in the hollows.” This face, he continues, was “the most sensitive face in the room and yet the most powerful.” The English youth was “more than struck by his extraordinary personal magnetism. There was an intensity of faith and curious single-minded recklessness which were deeply attractive to me.” He noted Savarkar’s “refinement and lack of human sympathy,” defining both these as characteristics of the high-caste Brāhman. The meeting was held in the dining room of India House, with some of the Indians “sitting round a long table, others leaning against the walls, all listening intently” to Savarkar, who “spat out his words, with almost convulsive movements.” At first, Garnett said, he thought he was listening to a foreign tongue but then realized that Savarkar was reading aloud in English.”⁶⁰

These open meetings at India House attracted Indian informers as well as Indian patriots, so the British were well aware of the content of Savarkar’s manuscript and had divined its purpose. They were able to thwart efforts to have it published in India. It thus enjoyed a certain uniqueness in that it was proscribed before it even became a book. Since the manuscript could not be published in India, it was returned to Paris, and from there it was sent to Germany, where there were facilities for printing with Sanskrit characters. These, however, could not be adapted to reproduce the Marathi language. The work was finally translated into English in its entirety, and the first edition was printed in Holland in 1909.⁶¹

To mark the completion of the manuscript, Savarkar staged an elaborate celebration of the 51st anniversary of the Mutiny, or as he called it, “the Indian National Arising of 1857.” The Golden Anniversary observance of the year before had attracted little or no attention, but this time the event received full coverage in the columns of the *Times*, which reproduced word-for-word the invitation and the program, which had been printed in red ink — a fact in itself considered ominous. The observance was a curious mixture of modern-day public relations “gimmicks” and traditional Hindu practices. Tributes were made to the “sacred memory” of heroes and heroines of the Mutiny: Emperor Bahadur Shah, Shrimant Nana Saheb, Rani Lakshmibai, Maolvi Ahmad Shah, Raja Kuar Kunwar Singh, and other “martyrs.” The tributes were followed by declarations of self-denial involving a vow to abjure “all pleasures and pastimes” and

to contribute the money saved to a "fund for the Heroes and Martyrs of 1857." Those taking the vow were given badges to commemorate their commitment.⁶² The *Times* reported that more than 100 students from Oxford, Cambridge, and "even Edinburgh" had been present at the observation, which lasted for four hours and was concluded with the "distribution of Prashad," a ritual offering, in this case, *chapati*, the unleavened Indian bread.⁶³

The *Times* had now joined Scotland Yard in observing with alarm the goings-on at India House under the skillful direction of Savarkar. Their worst fears were confirmed when it was reported toward the end of the year that "there was a marked increase in the truculence of the Young India party who greeted with jeers and groans any counsels of moderation put forward. . . ." Savarkar was quoted as having pointed out that in spite of the Arms Act there was plenty of warlike material in India. He gave as examples the native states and the native troops which, he said, "would be sufficient to overpower and drive the British out of India." Every Indian returning to India should work among the troops and in the states. The advent of the bomb, he assured his listeners, had "terrified the British public" and all that was needed now was to "teach our people to hate the foreign oppressor and success is sure."⁶⁴

ALONE IN ENGLAND

When Har Dayal returned to England, he set himself up in Oxford and continued to contribute to the Lahore newspapers. His writings were dismissed by British intelligence as "enthusiastic," but "rather foolish."⁶⁵ They served, however, to reinforce Har Dayal's determined commitment to "Indianness" at that time and gave him further opportunity to indict the British. Writing on the subject of cow protection, he called on his countrymen to consider the matter with great seriousness as "the cow is the flag of the Hindu nation." Imported English education was inimical to cow protection, he said, because "Indian children are never taught to love cows in government schools . . . indeed when the teachers of those youths themselves eat beef how is it possible that their disciples should learn to love and honor cows?"

Calling for the establishment of cow protection societies in every city and town, he proposed a four-point program. First, he said, a monthly magazine entitled *Gau Raksha (Cow Protection)* should be started and distributed among college students and made available to those leaving the country. Second, a center should be established where preachers could be trained to go forth and spread the gospel of cow protection. These preachers should be well-schooled in the religious texts and willing to work for very modest salaries. Then, third, they should be joined by *sadhus*

(holy men) asking no compensation to form an inner circle within the society. Their function would be that of propaganda, but they would also be charged with inspecting cow shelters and reporting the conditions they found. The establishment of cow shelters was the fourth point. Har Dayal appealed to Hindus to come forward and devote their lives to the service of the cow, renouncing their wealth for the sake of their religion.

He then made his strongest attack on Christianity when he said that every effort should be made to prevent the spread of that religion "because every Christian kills a number of cows." He further urged that all connections with Christians be broken off "because... the Christian missionary will make thousands of converts to beef-eaters. Thus, those Hindus who help the Christians in any way are striking the axe at the root of their own religion."

Cow protection is then used to restate Har Dayal's contempt for Indians serving the British government: "They have already sold their religion for the sake of lucre and it is now useless to expect them to protect the cows." The solution to the whole problem was for Indians to "improve the condition of the country so that the people may have the reins of political power and influence in their own hands and do their duty by doing good to themselves and by protecting the cows."⁶⁶

Har Dayal also used the columns of the Lahore newspapers to announce that he stood by to "help and advise Indian gentlemen going to England." He would, he said, "consider it a source of pride to prove of help to native young men repairing to that country for education." He suggested that anyone interested write to him at his Oxford address. He also gave a West Kensington address in London.⁶⁷

By now, the tone of his writings began to gall even the editors of the papers who published most of his output. Under the heading, "Sri Krishna and Lala Har Dayal," the *Hindustan* commented that Krishna — "the greatest national teacher of the Hindus" — had said in the *Gita* that the world always imitates its great men, and then pointed out that Har Dayal — "one of those natives of the day who exercise great influence on their fellow countrymen" — had gone to England for the second time, while at the same time he was advising others "not to pollute themselves in that country of *mlecchas* [foreigners]."

In other words, he asks his countrymen to act up to his advice and not to follow his example, which shows that he knows absolutely nothing of human nature. It is a gross mistake on his part to prohibit Indians from going to England. It is very necessary for them to go abroad in order to develop and expand their intellectual facilities, to increase their store of knowledge and to learn whatever the world can teach them. As long as India had dealings with other countries she maintained her (material)

existence and was considered queen of the world. Her fall dates back from the time when she severed her connection, and ceased dealing with the outside world. Signs are not, however, wanting to show that she is anxious to revive her relations with other countries, which will be certain to win her back her greatness. Lala Hardayal's advice to his countrymen not to go abroad, therefore, is calculated to at least surprise them.

The newspaper was especially upset over Har Dayal's attacks on lawyers and concluded by saying that no young Indian "can become a patriot merely by avoiding the donning of the Barrister's gown."⁶⁸ Even the *Panjabee* repudiated him as a "quixotic dreamer."⁶⁹

It is difficult to know exactly what Har Dayal was doing during this period beyond continuing to contribute his diatribes to the Lahore newspapers. He makes no mention of this interlude in his life in any of his writings. He had not wanted to leave India at that particular time and was, said Gobind Behari Lal, heartsick and very lonesome. He wrote regularly to his wife and his brothers and often expressed regret that he had not seen his infant daughter, named Shanti — meaning "peace." Those letters could not be saved — nor any of his subsequent ones to members of his family — because all were continually under surveillance by British intelligence operatives. Shanti remembers that even as a very small child she was warned never to mention her father's name. Har Dayal never really expected to be permanently separated from his family and always harbored the belief that some day he could send for Sundar and Shanti. Additionally, Har Dayal had alienated himself from all but the most militant extremists with his scathing denunciations of his own countrymen: moderates, civil servants, and professional men — the English educated in general. Whether he preferred not to appear on programs or whether he was not invited to do so, he never said, nor did any of his biographers, including British intelligence agents.

His attendance was noted, however, at what was called the Indian National Conference convened at Caxton Hall on December 20. This was a double meeting. After the political conference, the birthday of Guru Govind Singh, the militant Sikh leader of the seventeenth century, was celebrated. The Conference, which was presided over by Khaparde, drew Mme. Cama from Paris as well as the Aga Khan, a Muslim potentate seldom identified with the sponsors of the Conference. A variety of resolutions was passed, including one expressing congratulations to Turkestan on becoming a republic; one demanding self rule — called the main resolution — and a third repudiating the proposed constitutional changes as announced by the viceroy, Lord Minto. Although they were by no means satisfied, the extremists later took almost full credit for these first political

concessions (known as the Morley-Minto reforms), and most Indians believed that "if it had not been for the bombs, we should not have these boons."⁷⁰

Har Dayal attended the conference but did not speak to any of the resolutions and is reported to have left the meeting "in disgust because of its sham patriotism and independence, and subservience to British patronage." He particularly denounced Bipin Chandra Pal, who presided at the Guru Govind Singh birthday celebration.⁷¹ Pal, at that time, was generally being castigated as a political turncoat because of the moderate nature of his lectures in England. This was particularly painful to Shyamaji Krishnavarma who was watching his Rs. 1,000 being dissipated in Pal's support of petitions and resolutions.

From all accounts, Har Dayal must have spent the six months in England from September of 1908 through February of 1909 in much the same way as he did before he left on his self-supported trip to India as a political missionary. As has been indicated, he apparently took little part in the India House activities and did not engage in any of the military preparedness programs instituted by Savarkar. Police accounts at that time did not record him as one who espoused violence. Mme. Cama said that Har Dayal lived in England in the direst poverty, on no more than sixpence a day. This life style, she said, "rendered him neurasthenic" and his friends in Paris finally persuaded him to join them, offering care and devotion until he gained his strength.⁷² Krishnavarma, however, said that this was not the case: that he had provided Har Dayal with an Indian Martyr Scholarship, for which Har Dayal expressed his gratitude even though he was loathe to accept financial support, being of "an ascetic turn of mind."⁷³ Police reports confirm Har Dayal's illness.⁷⁴

INDIAN NATIONALISTS IN PARIS

Before the arrival of Shyamaji Krishnavarma in Paris in June of 1907, Indian nationalists there were led by Sardar Singh Revabhai Rana and Mme. Bhikhaiji Rustom K. R. Cama, both of whom were frequently in London and closely identified with Krishnavarma and India House. S. R. Rana, as he is more commonly known, descended from an old ruling family in Kathiawar. He was officially identified as a *bhayat* (prince) of the state of Limbdi and one of the claimants to the throne. Because of his nationalist activities, his estates were eventually forfeited by the Bombay government. He was a naturalized French citizen associated with a firm of pearl merchants. A man of considerable wealth, it was he who financed the three scholarships for young Indians to study abroad, one of which was awarded to Savarkar. In Paris, Rana had acted as the intermediary

between the Indians and the Russian revolutionaries when the bomb manual was being prepared, and he had a reputation for helping young nationalists find lodgings they could afford, or even putting them up at his own expense. He was considered a man of high personal integrity, and money entrusted to him for safekeeping would be returned without question.⁷⁵ He also acted as banker for Savarkar's Abhinava Bharat and funded the second edition (in French) of *The Indian War of Independence*. He lived with a German woman whom he called his wife and who bore his name. According to British CID reports, she was "a most dangerous woman and the centre of Indian conspiracies in Paris."⁷⁶

This may be an overstatement of Mme. Rana's role, as Mme. Cama is more generally considered to have been the focal point of nationalist activities, not only in France, but on the Continent as a whole. Before moving with her husband from London to Paris, she had served as secretary to Dadabhai Naoroji when he was a member of the British Parliament. Her political persuasions did not remain of Dadabhai's moderate variety, and after the arrival of Savarkar in London she identified herself with the Abhinava Bharat. She had a reputation of being a careful student of the social and political questions of the day, and her interest in politics extended back to the last decade of the nineteenth century. She was active in women's movements and used a meeting of the International Council of Women in 1906 to plead for justice in India.⁷⁷ Mme. Cama is perhaps best known for having raised the first Indian national flag at the Seventh International Socialist Congress in August of 1907 at Stuttgart, Germany. The flag which she unfurled had three broad stripes. The top one was green, the sacred color of the Muslims; the center band was saffron or golden, the sacred color of both the Buddhists and the Sikhs, and the lower stripe was the Hindu red. There was a line of eight stars on the top green stripe, emblematic of the eight provinces of India; the words, "Bande Mataram," were embroidered in Sanskrit on the center gold band, and on the bottom red stripe there was an orb on the side toward the staff and near the outer edge, the crescent of Islam.⁷⁸ No symbol of the disparate elements which make up India's diverse population was ignored.

Mme. Cama and the Ranas were listed with the 123 delegates from Great Britain, and their presence was sponsored by H. M. Hyndman of the Social Democratic Federation. Along with unfurling the flag, Mme. Cama made an impassioned plea for support of the "suffering millions of Hindusthan."⁷⁹ Eight or ten weeks after the Stuttgart meeting, Mme. Cama arrived in New York and repeated her message in interviews and public addresses, saying to the Americans: "The people here know about the conditions in Russia, but I don't think they know anything about the conditions in India under the English Government. Our best men are deported

or sent to prison like criminals, and there they are flogged so that they have to go to prison hospitals. We are peaceful, we do not want a bloody revolution, but we do want to teach the people their rights and to throw off despotism." She toured the country, and wherever she went, her flag went with her. She met with some heckling from Anglophiles — notably churchmen — but found Americans, on the whole, sympathetic with Indian nationalist aspirations.⁸⁰

While she was on this tour, Krishnavarma, almost by default, became the dominant figure in Paris. S. R. Rana was now an almost constant commuter to London, having been given the task of managing the financial side of India House. Savarkar was still in charge of its political program. Shyamaji continued to edit and publish the *Indian Sociologist* from Paris, although it was still printed in England. The Indians in Paris concentrated on the production of propaganda materials, which were distributed to students and members of the professional classes of India through newspapers, journals, and other publications which were sent secretly to India.⁸¹ These Indians also identified themselves with other revolutionary groups, and it was in Paris that Har Dayal came in contact with Egyptian nationalists and Russian revolutionaries.

"THE SOCIAL CONQUEST OF THE HINDU RACE"

Har Dayal's move to Paris had widened his horizon, but his indictment of the British continued along the lines he had developed in his earlier political writings. From Paris he submitted his first major article expressing his political views for publication in the *Modern Review* in Calcutta, a periodical to which he was to be a frequent contributor. This, as has been indicated, involved theories he had begun developing in India in 1908 and is in many ways a precocious work in the area of acculturation or, as he called it, "social conquest."⁸²

Racial superiority was an important ingredient of social conquest, according to Har Dayal, who used as an example the dominance of the Aryan Brāhmans over the non-Hindus of South India, whom Har Dayal called pariahs. The scholarly Brāhmans, though smaller in number, were able to conquer the physically stronger peasants because of their superior organization and their unity. They not only imposed political control, but were able to make the conquered people "prostrate themselves voluntarily before their conquerors and to stand aside in the streets when the Brāhman approached." There were no laws requiring such obeisance and servility, and no one asked why the South Indians would tolerate such a situation, which existed even in the 20th century. This had come about, Har Dayal said, because the Brāhmans had fulfilled three very important requisites: first, they had taken control of those institutions important to man's social

welfare; second, they had provided a platform on which the rulers and the ruled could meet in terms of inequality; and, finally, there had developed a class among the "subject peoples" who would "come forward and meet the rulers on that platform."

The Brāhmans of old fulfilled these requisites by appropriating to themselves the functions of priest, teacher, physician, poet, and philosopher. They became in effect, the brains of the community, controlling the body, which was represented by the pariahs who "ranged themselves in the social system under the Brāhman at various distances from him." Hinduism became the platform by ratifying inequality, and this resulted in the growth of a class who did not consider it derogatory to stand on that platform.

Similarly, Har Dayal said, the British had taken control of the educational system of India, the health services, public utilities, and so on. Their common platform included the legislative councils, district boards and other administrative units, durbars (formal receptions), and occasional public meetings. Finally, of course, the "class of men ready to avail themselves of social intercourse, on terms of inequality," comprised the English educated.

The British, Har Dayal said, had become the Brāhmans, not only in a social sense, but in a religious one as well. They were engaged "not only in destroying Hinduism from the outside by Christian missionary activities, but trying to control it from the inside in the guise of sympathy for the religion." The object of his particular scorn was Mrs. Annie Besant, "a solitary English lady, coming nobody knows whence" to establish herself as president of the board of trustees of the Central Hindu College. He then dwelt at some length on the "platforms of inequality" and pointed out that while the Englishmen would meet the Hindu as a teacher in the classroom, as a physician in a hospital, as a magistrate in a court, as a superior in an office, in legislative councils or durbars, he will never meet him as a friend in the club or tavern because this would lead to social intercourse on terms of equality.

When Har Dayal discussed the Indians who would work with the British, he called for noncooperation. Extremist or moderate, he said, should refuse to assist in the social conquest of his nation: "We cannot protest against our political degradation in any effective form without being considered disloyal: but we can stop the further progress of the social conquest without any risk to our life or property." Those who acknowledged the leadership of Englishmen were "sapping the virtues which are the sources of all national life — pride, self-respect and a sense of national individuality." Har Dayal concluded by asking Hindu India, "Shall the Briton be your Brāhman?"⁸⁸

This was a remarkable analysis of the situation in India and can be applied rather universally. It was not only a castigation of the British, but a serious — rather than hysterical — indictment of Har Dayal's own class of men who had allowed themselves to be placed in servile, sycophantic roles. Gandhi, as it has been pointed out, was also to come to much the same conclusion: that the Indians were themselves responsible for their plight because of their own moral deterioration. But while Har Dayal concerned himself with exposing the means by which Indians had become a subject people, Gandhi concentrated on techniques to restore India's manhood and morality. This he called *satyagraha*, a coined word meaning "truth force."⁸⁴ Although Har Dayal was himself a moralist in many ways, in this instance he applied what Gobind Behari Lal called a "scientific approach." Lal has said "In my opinion, Har Dayal was — and he did not know it — what we call today a philosophic anthropologist. He was a scientist and he didn't know it. He could have called himself a philosophic anthropologist in the sense that F. S. C. Northrup calls himself that. He worked all of this out without any help from any existing theories of that kind. He was a leader in these contributions. He got it from his own study, from what he had deduced out of history, especially the history of Britain and the Roman conquest of England."

VIOLENCE AND GANDHI'S REACTION

While Har Dayal was recovering his health in Paris, Savarkar and his co-workers continued their strenuous activities at India House. Deciding that the time had come to back up words with weapons, Savarkar concealed twenty Browning automatics, with ammunition, in the luggage of a former cook at India House, who was returning to Bombay. They were intended for eventual delivery to Savarkar's older brother, who, however, had been taken into custody before the arrival of the weapons. Accused of abetting the waging of war against the Crown on the strength of some verses he had written which were considered inflammatory, he was tried, convicted, and sentenced to six years transportation to the Andamans. When Savarkar heard what had happened to his brother, he became "wild with rage" and swore vengeance on the British.⁸⁵ The vengeance was to come through another's hand when, a fortnight later (July 1, 1909), Sir William Curzon Wylie, political aide-de-camp of the secretary of state for India, was shot full in the face with five bullets. The grisly assassination took place at the annual meeting of Dadabhai Naoroji's Indian Association in London and also claimed the life of Cawas Lalcala, a Parsi physician who had rushed to the aid of Curzon and caught the sixth bullet from the revolver.

Madanlal Dhingra, the young Indian who had approached his victim

with a smile, was arrested forthwith, and a search of his person revealed that he was carrying another loaded revolver, a dagger, and a knife. After a trial, which was concluded in one hour, Dhingra was sentenced to death and hanged on August 17. Some suspense was engendered when the police refused to introduce in evidence a prepared statement which Dhingra had carried on his person, along with the guns and cutlery.

The day after Dhingra was hanged, the statement appeared in the *Daily News*, placed there by young David Garnett at Savarkar's behest. It was generally assumed that Dhingra had not been the author, but no one has been willing to say that Savarkar was. The statement also appeared on that same day in American and Irish newspapers,⁸⁶ proving that Savarkar's international propaganda machine was working in good order. The extremists regarded Dhingra's act as one of supreme courage and self-sacrifice and his statement a stirring patriotic cry. The moderates, with Gokhale as their spokesman, disassociated themselves from what they considered both a shocking and reckless act.⁸⁷ Although the British were outraged publicly, admiration for Dhingra's act had been privately expressed by David Lloyd George and Winston Churchill, who is reported to have called Dhingra's statement "the finest ever made in the name of patriotism."⁸⁸

Ten days after the assassination of Sir William Curzon Wyllie, Gandhi arrived in London for the second time as a member of a deputation protesting the indignities heaped on the Indians in the Transvaal. The dispatch which he sent back to Natal for publication in *Indian Opinion* assessed the act as having done "much harm," having resulted in a setback for the work of the deputation. Calling Dhingra a coward, he said his defense would be inadmissible. He added that he could feel some pity for the man who had been "egged on to do this act by ill-digested reading of worthless writings." He also implied that Dhingra's statement had not been of his own writing and that he had been drunk on a "mad idea" at the time the crime was committed so that whatever courage he possessed was "the result of intoxication, not a quality of the man himself. A man's own courage consists in suffering deeply and over a long period. That alone is a brave act. . . ."

Gandhi then questioned the whole strategy of violence, saying that if the British were to leave India in consequence of murderous acts, their place would be taken by the murderers, and under their rule, "India will be utterly ruined and laid waste." He said that he needed time to think the whole matter through and expressed his fear that those who commended Dhingra would be "guilty of a heinous sin."⁸⁹ Gandhi did devote a great deal of time and thought to elaborating his views, subsequently publishing a pamphlet entitled, *Hind Swaraj (Indian Self-Rule)*. This, he

said, was his answer to those who espoused violence, fashioned after almost endless conversations with nationalists of all persuasions. The statement is in dialogue form, purportedly reporting these discussions, including one with an "avowed anarchist," who is generally believed to have been Savarkar.

As early as mid-1907 Savarkar had attacked passive resistance in a dispatch written for publication in India. He used as an example an unsuccessful attempt that year by vineyard planters in the south of France to rectify what they believed to be an unjust tax situation by staging a well-organized walkout of all government, police, and military personnel in the area. The demonstration was put down by troops and officials brought in from other parts of France. This proved, said Savarkar, that no mobs and masses can ever stand against the organized military strength of a government for a long time.⁸⁰

Gandhi echoed Har Dayal, whose article on social conquest had appeared two months before the actual writing of *Hind Swaraj* began. "The English have not taken India," Gandhi wrote; "we have given it to them. They are not in India because of their strength, but because we keep them."⁸¹ Gandhi went on to indict modern civilization, to call for self-discipline and nonviolence, and to define home rule as self-rule (in a personal and individual sense). A decade after the publication of *Hind Swaraj*, Gandhi wrote:

The only part of the programme which is now being carried out is that of non-violence. But I regret to have to confess that even that is not being carried out in the spirit of the book. If it were, India would establish Swaraj in a day. If India adopted the doctrine of love as an active part of her religion and introduced it in her politics, Swaraj would descend upon India from heaven. But I am painfully aware that the event is far off as yet.⁸²

Politically, Gandhi identified himself with the moderates of the day rather than with the extremists, but his testament called for a plague o' both houses since the end each group had in view was a "modern" government in a "modern" world or, as Gandhi called it, "Englishstan," rather than Hindustan.

THE PLAN OF ACTION

Across the channel from London, the assassination of Sir William Curzon Wyllie had resulted in realignments which brought Har Dayal to the fore. The *Indian Sociologist* now seemed tepid and tentative, and Shyamaji Krishnavarma's position of leadership was seriously threatened. He had not immediately come forward to declare Dhingra a patriot of courage and daring. When he finally acknowledged his approval of

Dhingra's act and did declare him a "martyr in the cause of Indian independence" ⁹³ his statement was considered to be of the too-little-and-too-late variety. He was also castigated for not having found a new location for India House when the Highgate establishment had been closed by the police almost instantaneously after the assassination. Instead, he was able to sell the property for a good price and pocket the money. He continued, however, to support people in trouble, notably Savarkar, and he was apparently giving financial aid to Har Dayal, as well.

In spite of this kind of generosity, Krishnavarma was considered calculating and petty-minded in money matters. Mme. Cama and S. R. Rana turned away from Shyamaji and surrounded themselves with younger and more enthusiastic men. Their main objective was to establish a newspaper which would reflect a vigorous revolutionary policy. Har Dayal was the obvious choice for editor. Mme. Cama, who was said to be regarded as a reincarnation of a deity — presumably Kali — provided most of the financial support for the monthly, which was to be printed in Geneva. ⁹⁴ Har Dayal personally accepted delivery there of the first issues, but subsequent issues were sent to a friend of Mme. Cama in Paris. Har Dayal periodically corresponded with the printer, giving various addresses in France and Italy, thus indicating that he was fairly mobile during this period.

The new publication was called *Bande Mataram* to perpetuate the name of the paper founded in 1905 by Bipin Chandra Pal and later edited by Aurobindo Ghose. One of the most effective of the revolutionary journals in India, it had been forced to cease publication under the Newspapers Act of 1908. The revived *Bande Mataram*, under Har Dayal's editorship, was a far cry from the *Indian Sociologist*, but Krishnavarma was never attacked in its columns, except, perhaps, indirectly. Har Dayal wrote, for example:

Exile has its privileges. It is the price paid for the right of preaching the truth as it appears to us. We do not deal in political casuistry mingled with erroneous philosophy. We do not look before and after, when we pen our passion-laden, message-bearing words. We may pay homage only to our conscience and defy all the governments of the world to make us deviate a hair's breadth from the path of Duty and Righteousness. ⁹⁵

The first number of *Bande Mataram* appeared on September 10, 1909. It was almost wholly written by Har Dayal for its first several months of existence. ⁹⁶ The *Times* took note of the reappearance of so famed a mast-head:

The periodical, *Bande Mataram*, which was suppressed in Calcutta on account of its articles, has reappeared in a new form at Geneva. The first number contains the usual denunciations of British rule and a bitter

attack on Messrs. Surendranath Banerjee, Gokhale, and other prominent members of the Indian National Congress, who are denounced as "mean and worthless chatterboxes," "Ignoble and cowardly politicians who trade in the tears and groans of their countrymen," etc. A special heading is devoted to "Dhingra the Immortal, whose words and deeds shall be cherished by the whole world for centuries to come."⁹⁷

A more complete text of Har Dayal's tribute to Dhingra follows:

Dhingra has behaved at each stage of his trial like a hero of ancient times. He has reminded us of the history of medieval Rajputs and Sikhs who loved death like a bride. England thinks she killed Dhingra: in reality he lives forever, and has given the deathblow to English sovereignty in India. . . .

In time to come, when the British Empire in India shall have been reduced to dust and ashes, Dhingra's monument will adorn the squares of our chief towns, recalling the memory of our children to the noble life and the noble death of him who laid down his life in a far-off land for the cause he loved so well.⁹⁸

Less than five years later he was to say of Dhingra: "I will give you my estimate and you can take it for what it is worth. He was a morbid, melancholy and indolent man; very susceptible to personal influence and very unbalanced; very vain; and unwilling to exert himself for a successful career. This is my idea of him."⁹⁹

In the first issue of *Bande Mataram*, Har Dayal had declared: "We issue this journal with the object of continuing, commemorating and consolidating the good work that was inaugurated by that redoubtable champion of Indian freedom, *Bande Mataram* of Calcutta" and pledged that "the glorious campaign against foreign oppression which was initiated by our brave and wise leaders in Bengal through the medium of *Bande Mataram* shall be carried on with equal vigour and persistency by us at present." But by far the most significant article in the first issue of the revived revolutionary journal was Har Dayal's statement of the three-stage plan of action which he had suggested in barer outline in his letter to his brother in 1907:

We hold that an enslaved people must pass through three stages before it can again establish itself as a member of the community of nations:

(a) *Moral and intellectual preparation.* During this period the workers must elevate the character of the people and instruct them in the principles that govern an efficient social organization. The heart of the craven people must be purified. The instincts of selfishness and avarice must be destroyed, the indifference to higher interests must be cut at the root. The spirit of the slave must disappear before slavery can be ended.

(b) The second stage is that of war. The way must be declared for the establishment of a free and sovereign state managed by the people. The

debris of the old regime must be removed. And the only agent that can accomplish this work is the sword. No subject nation can bring freedom without war, without a war to the knife with its alien rulers. He who tells the people that this principle is wrong must be a fool or a knave.

(c) After the war the work of reconstruction and consolidation commences. . . .

After Mazzini, Garibaldi; after Garibaldi, Cavour. Even so, it must be with us. Virtue and wisdom first; then war; finally independence.¹⁰⁰

This was the first coherent statement of *Hardayalism*, which Lala Lajpat Rai identified as a particular school of political thought subscribed to by most of the so-called extremists of the day. With *Bande Mataram*, Har Dayal identified himself as an advocate of open rebellion. Again he emphasized the necessity to educate to rebellion and then called for a clean sweep of imperialistic "debris." Little consideration was given to what form the "reconstruction and consolidation" would take. This lack of any positive or constructive plan, Lajpat Rai comments, was the most telling mark of the Hardayalists, who believed that someone "would rise sphinxlike who will establish some form of national government," be he Hindu, Muslim, Sikh, or Gurkha or be he *maharaja* or republican. For the Hardayalists, anything would be better than the present government:

The British Government is slowly dissolving the nation. If they have to die, they would rather die of plague or cholera, than of typhoid or consumption. The apprehensions of disturbances of peace do not frighten them. They are sick of peace. Peace under existing conditions has unmanned the nation; it has emasculated the people and sapped their manhood. Anything rather than peace at such price. The desire for peace on any terms, has been the curse of British rule. It has done them more harm than disorder or anarchy ever did. Blessed was the disorder that preceded the rise of the Mahratta power or the establishment of the Sikh commonwealth. Blessed were the conditions of life that produced a Pratap, a Sivaji, a Durga Dass, and Govind Singh. Cursed are the conditions of peace that can only produce Daffadars and Jamadars or at the most Risaldars [non-commissioned officers of the Indian native army] or Kaiser-Hind medalists.¹⁰¹

While the Hardayalists offered no substitute for British *raj*, Gandhi was to call for *Ram raj*, or rule by moral force as it was idealized in the epic *Ramayana*, part of the mythical, quasi-sacred literary tradition of India. By contrast, the group represented by Har Dayal called upon the historical past. Gobind Behari Lal comments: "Har Dayal never deviated from naturalism, even in those days. His whole approach was woven out of history and applied to the theory of freedom, even though he got the idea of freedom from the English." He called attention to the fact that

Har Dayal had earlier introduced his theories of social conquest: "The point was that the British had not only taken over the government of the country but had introduced a new psychology, a different point of view of institutions: a theory of evolution had taken over. The Arya Samajists may well have set Har Dayal on his analytical course as they, too, emphasized the humiliation imposed on them by the British. Hans Raj, for example, had written that hardly a day passed that Indians were not reminded of their inferiority:

. . . The Railway, the telegraph and the factory speak in unmistakable terms both to the educated and the uneducated that the Englishmen are far superior to them in the knowledge of natural laws and their application to the conveniences of human life. The wonderfully complex machine of administration which regulates our affairs displays to us high powers of organization in the nation that bears rule over us. The dramas of Shakespeare, the poems of Milton, and the writings of Bacon attest the intellectual eminence of the ruling people. The perseverance, truthfulness, courage, patriotism, and self-sacrifice of Englishmen excite feelings of respect and admiration in our minds. What wonder is it then that in their company we feel ourselves conquered and humiliated?¹⁰²

But, according to Lal, Har Dayal went further to argue that Indians had to get back their "sense of self and some kind of confidence and establish their identity as a human civilization."

Savarkar was less a thinker and theorist than Har Dayal. There were no psychological subtleties in his writings. For that reason, perhaps, his vehicle was *Talwar (Dagger)*, also a product of the group in Paris. It was edited by Virendranath Chattopadhyaya, the brother of Sarojini Naidu, who had already made a name for herself as a poet. He was one of Savarkar's earliest converts to the India House revolutionary group. A graduate of the University of Calcutta, he twice failed the India Civil Service examinations and turned to law. He entered the Middle Temple and earned a degree, which was later withdrawn because of his propaganda activities. He was to compete again with Har Dayal, only the next time he would be first in the field. In Volume One, Number One of *Talwar*, which made its appearance in Paris two months after Har Dayal's *Bande Mataram*, Savarkar, defending his Abhinava Bharat, wrote:

We feel no special love for secret organizations or surprise and secret warfare. We hold that whenever the open preaching and practicing of truth is banned by enthroned violence, then alone secret societies and secret warfare are justified by force. . . . Whenever the natural process of national and political evolution is violently suppressed by the forces of wrong, then revolution must step in as a natural reaction and therefore

ought to be welcomed as the only effective instrument to reenthroned Truth and Right. . . . You rule by bayonets and under these circumstances it is mockery to talk of constitutional agitation when no constitution exists at all. But it would be worse than mockery, even a crime, to talk of revolution where there is a constitution that allows the fullest and freest development of a nation. Only because you deny us light, we gather in darkness to compass means to knock out the fetters that hold our Mother down.¹⁰³

Har Dayal welcomed the presence of another revolutionary publication and noted its change of venue with enthusiasm. He wrote in the February 1910 issue of *Bande Mataram*: "The *Talwar* has made its appearance in Berlin, the capital of the country which is at present most hostile in spirit to England. We congratulate our comrades on their choice. The arm of the British Empire cannot reach them in that haven of refuge, and the cultivation of friendly relations with the powerful German nation will be great advantage to the cause of Indian independence." According to British sources, *Talwar* was actually printed in Holland and disseminated from London and Paris,¹⁰⁴ which Har Dayal apparently did not know. In any case, he continued: "The program of active resistance with assassination as a prelude is advocated with splendid earnestness. There is no trace of any inclination towards compromise or hypocrisy in any of its pronouncements. We especially commend to the attention of our readers the admirable article on political assassination in the second number which deserves careful perusal."¹⁰⁵

The following month, Har Dayal returned to his emphasis on preparation by education to revolution. He began his main article by saying that the Indian Press Act was a confession of defeat on the part of the Indian government and a tribute to the efficiency of the revolutionary party. The act, he said, would not affect the future of the cause, since revolutionary journals and books are printed abroad and are thus above the suppressive legislation in India. He continued:

We must recognize at present that the importation of revolutionary literature into India is the sheet-anchor of the party. It keeps up the spirit of all young men, and assures them that the party is living. We must therefore try to strengthen all groups of workers outside India. The centre of gravity of political work has been shifted from Calcutta, Poona, and Lahore to Paris, Geneva, Berlin, London, and New York. The Wahabi conspiracy of 1862 was completely crushed because there was no centre in foreign countries where the work could be carried on during the period of persecution. We must take this lesson to heart, that if we desire to hear more of the murder of British officials as a token of progress and vitality of the party we must strengthen and establish centres of work in many

foreign countries. The circulation of revolutionary leaflets, journals, and manifestoes should be looked upon as a sacred duty by all patriots. We are not exaggerating the importance of this work when we use that expression. Let us look upon every leaf of revolutionary literature with almost superstitious veneration and try to make it reach India by all means in our power. For it is the seed of life of our people.¹⁰⁶

This issue also glorified the assassination of Mr. A. H. T. Jackson, the magistrate who had bound Savarkar's brother over for trial. This, Har Dayal hailed as "another nationalist fete celebrated at Nasik amidst the rejoicings of all true patriots." The hosts at this nationalist fete were members of the Abhinava Bharat who felt vengeance had been called for. The shooting took place at a farewell party planned for Mr. Jackson, who was being transferred to another post. For the honored guest, it was farewell indeed: when he arrived, he was pumped full of shots from one of the Browning automatics smuggled into India the year before.¹⁰⁷ Har Dayal could say:

We know that the hero possessed Browning pistols. Now these pistols are not manufactured in India, but in Europe. How have they been imported by the revolutionaries? It is clear that this fact is a testimony to the efficiency of our organization and the secrecy of our activity. Besides, the imported arms are not the only weapons on which we have to rely. Daggers can be manufactured in India out of sharp nails to stab all vile agents of the British Government, English or Indian.¹⁰⁸

But for Savarkar there was little elation. He knew that it was only a matter of time before he would be implicated. Already, the police were building their case.¹⁰⁹ The Jackson murder had taken place just before Christmas, so Savarkar's departure for Paris within a month had been intended to place him out of reach of the British. Paris offered no release from the anguish he felt over the plight of his brothers. The older one, it will be remembered, was in prison in the Andamans, and the younger had been taken into custody in connection with an attempt on the life of Lord Minto. All of this heightened Savarkar's belief that he, too, must suffer. Return to England would mean certain arrest but, he said, he could not continue sauntering in the gardens of Paris while his "dear and near relatives rotted in prisons." Har Dayal tried to reconcile him to his mission by saying, "No, you cannot go! You must not go! If you go, it will be the end of everything! You are the soul of the organisation. If you are removed, the movement will lose its force!" But Savarkar could not be persuaded and was determined to go "where my friends and relatives are being tor-

tured." He later recalled that when he left Paris, "many friends had assembled on the station to see me off. Amongst them I saw two faces outwardly calm but in fact very sad — one of Madame Cama and the other of Har Dayal. That was my last sight of my dearest friend Har Dayal!"¹¹⁰

Savarkar was taken into custody when he stepped from the train in Victoria station. Wilfred Scawen Blunt wrote in his diary: "I am sorry for the poor young man, whose real crime in Anglo-Indian eyes has been his authorship of the *History of the Indian Revolution*."¹¹¹ Har Dayal must have felt much the same way as he devoted almost the entire issue of *Bande Mataram* the following month (April, 1910) to an "enthusiastically appreciative" review of Savarkar's tour de force, which he called a "Masterpiece of Indian Historical Literature," welcomed as serving "to give a great impetus to our movement by rekindling the fire of righteous indignation in many a noble heart." Har Dayal said that the failure of the 1857 revolutionaries was not due to "lack of able leadership, or to the cowardice of those who did not participate, or to the absence of an attractive, constructive ideal," but simply to the inferiority of an Indian to the British soldier in a fighting capacity. He came perilously close to what Gandhi had already said when he added that the cause of this inferiority lay in the moral backwardness of the Indians. The prime necessity, he said, was to "renovate the lost manhood of the nation."¹¹²

The British courts ruled that Savarkar should be returned to India for trial. Heavily guarded, he was placed aboard a ship sailing from England July 1, 1910. A week later Savarkar made a dramatic escape from the ship when it put in at Marseilles. Swimming to shore, he demanded asylum from an uncomprehending French policeman and, in the confusion, was readily recaptured and taken back to the ship. Mme. Cama and V. V. S. Aiyer, one of Savarkar's most trusted lieutenants, were supposed to have been at the quay to spirit him off to safety, but they had lingered a little too long over tea at a stop on their motor trip from Paris: "They must have cursed themselves. . . ."¹¹³

After Savarkar's return to India, the tenor of *Bande Mataram* changed. Har Dayal now wrote:

We admit for the present all active propaganda among the young men of India with a view to the acquisition of new workers is exceedingly difficult. But there are hundreds of patriotic Indian students in America and Japan who can be inspired with apostolic fervour if only some capable workers are sent among them. The harvest is plenteous, but the labourers are few. We should now realize that even if the Government succeeds in checkmating us in India at every step, there is ample scope for work for several years among Indians living abroad. We should reflect that steady work is its own reward. We must not imagine that the Idea is not making progress because our particular journal cannot be circulated, or because

those workers whom we know personally have been lost. Again, we must not fancy that if heroic exploits of political assassination do not occur every week the movement will die out.¹¹⁴

MARTINIQUE

Shortly after Savarkar's return to England Har Dayal went to Algiers. There his article on social conquest was made into a pamphlet, and its importation into India was proscribed by British officials, who were apparently unaware that it had originally been published in a Calcutta magazine several months before.¹¹⁵ In July Har Dayal returned to Paris to remain until October. He resumed his editorial work, and in August he arranged for *Bande Mataram* to be published in Rotterdam on the grounds that the British newspapers had mentioned the Geneva source of publication.¹¹⁶ He stayed with S. R. Rana again but continued to be restless. He had hoped that the move to North Africa would be more or less permanent as, according to one account, he had planned to spend his life in poverty as an ascetic but had found this difficult in a Muslim country.¹¹⁷

Why Har Dayal had wanted to leave Paris at this time is subject to some difference of opinion. Those who emphasize Savarkar's role say that he was overwhelmed with despondency at his colleague's plight.¹¹⁸ Those who emphasize his Hindu commitment say that it was not easy for him to live in an "Indian style" in the French capital.¹¹⁹ Then his political attitudes are called into question with the contention that his expectations of cooperation from the Paris expatriates were not fulfilled because, under the leadership of Rana and Mme. Cama, the emphasis was on international socialism rather than the Hindu orthodoxy that Har Dayal seemed to reflect at that time.¹²⁰ British intelligence reports, commenting on Har Dayal's "consumption," credited his move to North Africa as part of his search for a more salubrious climate.¹²¹ It is reasonable to assume that it was a combination of despair over the fate of his closest political colleague, his inability to follow the socialist line, his health, and his preoccupation with finding a satisfactory philosophic identification that led to Har Dayal's decision to withdraw. He was not in any apparent danger of arrest, although Savarkar's recapture on French soil had shattered the faith of the Indians in France as an asylum. But there was still a further consideration: money. Algiers had been a cheap place to live but had not proved a compatible environment. Martinique was Har Dayal's next choice. It, too, was within the French Empire.

The only account of Har Dayal's stay on Martinique has been left by Bhai Parmanand.¹²² The Arya Samaj missionary had come under suspicion after his return to India from England in 1909, was arrested, tried, and made to furnish security for good behavior for three years. Rather than jeopardize the position of those who had posted bond in his behalf,

Bhai Parmanand decided to leave the country, choosing the United States, where he could receive training in pharmacy and thus be prepared to contribute to an industrialized and more self-sufficient India. He had hoped to see Har Dayal in France en route but had arrived in Paris while Har Dayal was in Algiers. He continued on to Philadelphia, arriving in October to discover that the school in which he had planned to study had already begun its session. He also discovered that the United States "is no happy land for the coloured," so he decided to wait out the time until the school term began the next September by going to British Guiana and other areas of the Caribbean in his missionary role. En route to Guiana, the steamer put in at Port de France in Martinique, so Bhai Parmanand decided to go ashore and locate Har Dayal. He found the house in which Har Dayal had rented a room, but his friend had gone to the nearby hills to meditate. A young native lad went to fetch him. At first Har Dayal was "agitated" at the news that someone was inquiring for him, but when he saw it was Bhai Parmanand, he was delighted and insisted that his old friend remain with him for a while in Martinique.

It was about a month before another ship headed for British Guiana came along and Bhai Parmanand used the time to discuss Har Dayal's plan to found a new religion. Har Dayal said that his reason for being in Martinique was to prepare himself by discipline and study for his great mission. It was an ideal environment, as the climate was warm and the cost of living very low. Har Dayal told Bhai Parmanand that a man could live for almost nothing on fruits alone. Har Dayal's diet at that time, however, did not include fruit, and consisted mostly of boiled grain or potatoes. Bhai Parmanand found this food a little flat and added salt and chilies, causing Har Dayal to comment that Bhai Parmanand was much the better cook.

Har Dayal slept on the bare floor and spent his days in meditation, except for brief periods of study. He told Bhai Parmanand that he wanted to give a new religion to the world and had taken Buddha as his model. Bhai Parmanand could adapt to Har Dayal's life style but not to his goals. As a convinced Arya Samajist he considered prophets imposters and their preachings a fraud. Har Dayal would only multiply the number of creeds, so Bhai Parmanand suggested he go to the United States and propagate the ancient culture of the Aryan race. After many days of discussion, Har Dayal agreed he would go to Harvard University and in one or two years time make it the center of his new work. But, Bhai Parmanand reports, Har Dayal was not prepared to accept the conclusions of the Vedantic school. "Very well," Bhai Parmanand said, "if not Vedanta, let it be Sankhya [another orthodox school of Hindu thought, with fundamentally atheistic precepts]. The main thing is to impress on people's memory the examples of self-sacrifice of the ancient Aryan sages and saints."

Bhai Parmanand sailed confidently on to British Guiana, certain that he had brought one more stray lamb back into the Arya fold. Har Dayal's new religion, however, had little in common with India's ancient heritage, if we are to believe Guy Aldred, who wrote:

Leaving Paris in September, 1910, for the West Indies, Dayal wrote less and less for *Bande Mataram*, and ceased to write altogether after 1911. He now proclaimed his belief in the coming republic, which was to be a church, a religious confraternity, based on an ideal, on freewill and mutual cooperation. Its motto was to be: Atheism, cosmopolitanism and moral law. This republic would not be a state, because the latter represented force and persecution. No modification of its activity, no tinkering with parliaments and senates and parties, could bring up the republic. The latter must grow up by the side of the state, which it would undermine finally. He also asserted the superiority of woman, declared for anti-patriotism and repudiated the race idea as a relic of barbarism.¹²³

MORATORIUM

Har Dayal was twenty-one years old when he left India to continue his studies at Oxford. He had made a brilliant academic record and earned both his B. A. and M. A. degrees with high honors and was en route to similar distinction at Oxford. After a year and one-half at the English university, he suddenly turned his back on the academic world and identified himself with the extremist Indian nationalist movement which was coming into being at that time.

In the ensuing three and one-half years Har Dayal very obviously attracted the attention of the major Indian political leaders and was considered a potential revolutionary leader of stature. He had introduced some exceedingly interesting ideas of his own, although at the same time he seems to have been highly impressionable and to have fallen readily under the "magnetic" spell of Vinayak Savarkar, who paid for his convictions with a long period of servitude under the most rigorous conditions of transportation to the Andaman Islands and, later, imprisonment in India itself.

Har Dayal seems to have been conscious that he might be subject to the same fate, and twice in the years from 1905 until 1910 he removed himself from possible peril. The third time he suddenly changed course was when he left Paris, but this time there was apparently only his own compulsion to pursue a life of renunciation. Har Dayal seems never to have felt any deep emotional involvement with the "oppressed masses" of India, his major concern being to educate them to recognize oppression. While Gandhi dealt with specific instances of British indifference to the personal dignity of Indians, Har Dayal dealt only in generalities, seeing everything British as being an attack on Indian culture and a deliberate

attempt to "denationalize" Indians, particularly those of the educated and quasi-educated class of which he himself was a member. Har Dayal's commitment to the metaphysical aspects of Hinduism was not as deep as his commitment to those practices which identified a Hindu. This is a point which Gobind Behari Lal, Lala Lajpat Rai, and even Ramsay MacDonald, all make and which is apparent in Har Dayal's own article, "The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race." Here he does not accuse the British of attacking the basic tenets of Hinduism but of threatening the institutions resting on those tenets. While Gandhi, who was ultimately successful in the manipulation of the Indian masses, sought an Indian solution to the problem of regaining "manhood," Har Dayal came more and more to espouse Western techniques of propaganda and political organization, identifying them, however, as having originally been Brāhman.

In many ways, Har Dayal between the ages of twenty-one and twenty-six follows the pattern identified by Erik Erikson as the struggle for ego identity experienced by intelligent and potentially creative people in their late teens and early twenties, an age, he says, "which can be painfully aware of the need for decisions, most driven to choose new devotions and to discard old ones, and most susceptible to the propaganda of ideological systems which promise a new-world perspective at the price of total and cruel repudiation of an old one." Erikson goes on to say that an identity crisis in a young man's life "may be reached when he half-realizes that he is fatally committed to what he is not." Such a crisis may well have been reached by Har Dayal during the period when he edited *Bande Mataram*, when he found himself being more and more identified as a political propagandist and moving further away from his intellectual and philosophic goals. He may have been aware that the kind of propaganda he was writing did not attack what he had cited at the central problem: why a race of ancient and sacred tradition could have been overwhelmed by so bump-tious a people as the English. His need for renunciation and his desire for penance led him, perhaps, to seek what Erikson calls a "moratorium," a postponement of the decision "as to what one is and is going to be." Emulation of Buddha was a time-honored practice of withdrawal in Indian terms, and the hills of Martinique may have served for Har Dayal what the monastery served for Martin Luther, "a means of marking time."¹²⁴ If Bhai Parmanand is correct in saying that Har Dayal could be influenced to leave Martinique for Harvard, then it would indicate that he had not yet solved his dilemma: he was at this time unable to identify satisfactorily with either East or West or to find his role as either a politician or a philosopher.

THE WEST EMBRACED 3

WHEN HAR DAYAL ARRIVED in the United States in February, 1911, he went first to Cambridge, Massachusetts, where he planned to carry on his study of Buddhism at Harvard University. He was given permission to use the university's library facilities, but he did not enroll in any courses.¹ Har Dayal was struck by the high level of scholarship of the American Sanskritist, Professor J. H. Woods. He was impressed by the fact that Dr. Woods had studied in India and expressed both surprise and pleasure that Harvard students were working on translations of Patanjali's *Yoga sutras*. He had nothing but praise for Harvard, to him the "premier" university in the United States.²

But Har Dayal was diverted from his philosophical and philological studies at Harvard by a plea to further the cause of Indian nationalism. He had been met at Harvard by a fellow Punjabi, Bhai Teja Singh, who called his attention to the literally thousands of Sikhs and other Punjabi laborers working in fields or factories on the west coast of the United States who lacked leadership in their struggle for social acceptance and economic equality.³ Har Dayal agreed to go to California in the interest of patriotism, but it is not considered unlikely that the prospect of a milder climate was appealing.

A VIEW OF AMERICA

Har Dayal had established himself in Berkeley by the end of April, 1911, and from there he submitted an article to the *Modern Review* in Calcutta, extolling the United States as "perhaps the only country in the world from which a solitary wandering Hindu can send a message of hope and encouragement to his countrymen."⁴ He saw America as "the master of the future," turning "fondly" to Indians, "the people who hold the treasures of the past in their hands." He then dealt systematically with attitudes prevalent in the major European countries, scoring the British for persecuting and humiliating the Hindus and the French for their indifference

to anything Indian other than their loss of the subcontinent to the British in colonial wars. The Germans, he said, admire the Hindu genius as reflected in Sanskrit literature but know little of the Indians as a living people.

Getting down to the real theme of his article, Har Dayal said that those Indians who were in the United States represented "the best elements of the population of the mother country." These he classified in four groups, with "accidentally alliterative appellations": Sikhs, swamis, students, and spies. He disposes of this last-named group first "as Sanskrit poets begin to describe the person of a goddess with the feet and work upwards." Spying on the Indians in the United States was a losing proposition, according to Har Dayal, because Indians could speak freely and openly as they discussed such topics as "the value of unity, the lessons to be learned from Japan, the importance of industrial progress, the greatness of the American people, the blessings of democracy, the honourableness of manual labour, the meanness of Theodore Roosevelt and the necessity for education, liberal and technical, for the uplifting of the people of India." So for the spies: "We do not try to outwit them here: we bewilder them by the self-evident sincerity of our utterances."

The next category he discussed were the Sikhs, who were the dominant group among the émigrés. He did not define them in their religious context but as peasants — "timid, shabby, and ignorant." It was no wonder, said Har Dayal, that in America they were transformed. No one could live in the United States, he said, "without being lifted to a higher level of thought and action. The great flag of the greatest democratic state in the world's history, burns up all cowardice, servility, pessimism and indifference, as fire consumes the dross and leaves pure gold behind." Moreover, he saw the flag as "a religious intoxicant, more potent than a thousand sermons and revivalist meetings." He hailed the United States as an "ethical sanitarium, where eternal sunshine prevails, and the wrecks of other climes are wrought into beautiful specimens of restored humanity." The discussion of the Sikhs ended in an emotional panegyric in which the American flag cried out to the "victims and outcasts" of the world: "Long as the stars shine in the sky and on my all-embracing folds, all nations shall find peace and prosperity under my protection. Come unto me, ye that are sick and heavy-laden, and I will give you rest."

That Har Dayal misquoted the words of Christ is unimportant; that he wrapped them in the folds of the American flag is. He saw in the United States a relationship between an ethical ideal and political and social freedom, something which he had not seen in Europe or the United Kingdom. More than this, Har Dayal articulates for the first time his concept of the

almost perfect climate for man's development, which in later years becomes the dominant theme in his writings.

Students, Har Dayal said, could reap the greatest benefits in the United States. They were, for the most part, from middle-class India, endowed with energy and brains, but little money, so they worked for their support while generally pursuing technical training. Engaging, as many of them did, in manual labor had a "very healthy influence" on their character. Some students, he admitted, sought less arduous ways of earning a living by setting themselves up as palmists or bogus Yoga professors, but, on the whole, the group was conscientious and upstanding and profited by learning self-reliance and resourcefulness of mind. Although Har Dayal said that "America is the land of opportunity for poor, industrious and intelligent students," and that "no one who can lead a rough and simple life need return from this country without a university degree," he warned that no Indian should come to the United States unless he was assured of his return passage. A student could earn his day-to-day living expenses but could not anticipate saving any money for a ticket home.

The remainder of the article was devoted to swamis. After an expression of contempt for those who duped and bilked "credulous middle-aged ladies out of their dollars," Har Dayal concentrated his praise on those swamis associated with the Vedanta centers founded in Boston, New York, Washington, Pittsburgh, and San Francisco in the wake of the enthusiasm evoked by Swami Vivekananda when he appeared at the Chicago Parliament of Religions in 1893. These swamis, he said, were almost all good and sincere men. There was, he continued, a keen and growing interest in Hindu thought in the United States, and American curiosity about India was satisfied by the Vedantic swamis. Their missionary work, Har Dayal could not refrain from saying, was badly needed by the "restless noisy Americans who are always hankering after some sensation" and who "have no inner life." He then recounted a celebration of the birthday of Ramakrishna held at the Hindu temple in San Francisco in which the participants had fasted the whole day and remained in one posture for fifteen hours during the service. This he counted as a "great tribute to the wisdom and moral power of the swamis that they have been able to teach even a few of these overfed self-complacent Americans the value of restraint and self-mortification as practiced by earnest Hindus. . . ." That an American audience would fast and sit still for fifteen hours could be considered "nothing short of a miracle."

Har Dayal concluded by saying that "the spirit of self-help and the creative energy" displayed by the Hindu laborers, students, and swamis in America had convinced him that Indian society still contained elements

of vitality and "qualities that go to nation-building, not fantastic religious or political theories, or eloquent speeches and articles."

AMERICA AND THE HINDUS

Unfortunately, Americans did not look at the Indians in the United States with the same enthusiasm as Har Dayal did. Rather, by 1910, they had come to view the Indians as a distinct menace and were alarmed by the increasing numbers arriving annually in the United States. This posed problems not faced before by the United States Bureau of Immigration because there existed no legislation or executive agreements under which the "tide of turbans" could be turned. Statistics prepared by the Department of Labor showed an increase in the number of Hindus arriving, and both official and unofficial concern was voiced. (In order to avoid confusion with American Indians, East Indians were generally referred to as "Hindus" in both official and unofficial records and accounts.) While the actual number of Indians arriving in the United States was relatively small, the fact that arrivals were increasing in such dramatic proportions was causing concern. Almost five times more Indians arrived in 1907 than had come in 1906, and in 1908, there were even more. These were the years of famine and agricultural discontent in the Punjab and the attendant political unrest which resulted in the deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai and Sardar Ajit Singh. The British imposed more stringent repressive measures in that particular area of North India, from which the overwhelming majority of Indians — notably the Sikhs — emigrated to the United States.

In 1908, concern began to be expressed over the increasing number of East Indian immigrants. The Asiatic Expulsion League, which had been lulled into relative quietude by governmental steps taken to curtail immigration from China and Japan, began to give tongue, as did other organizations on the West Coast, and their howls were heard in Washington. The Department of Labor noted that "the attitude on the part of the people of the Pacific Coast States furnished practically the sole ground upon which the Department could exclude Hindus under the existing immigration laws which were felt to be inadequate to meet the emergency, but the situation called for prompt action and, in the Department's opinion, justified what might perhaps be regarded by some as a strained application of the law."⁵ The "strained application" resulted in more rigid inspection of incoming Indians and temporarily reduced the number of immigrants. The pressure was relaxed, however, and 1910 saw the largest number ever to enter the United States in a single year. This gave rise to renewed agitation, and by the time Har Dayal arrived in the United States in early 1911, nationwide attention had again been focused on Hindu immigration.

During 1910, three influential national magazines having wide readership called attention to the rising Indian immigration figures. *Collier's*, in March of that year, noted that 327 turbaned immigrants had arrived in San Francisco during the preceding month and expressed the opinion that even though many people did not approve of the tactics and extreme pronouncements of the Asiatic Expulsion League, popular sentiment in California was behind the league's appeal to Washington for relief from this Hindu invasion, which was beginning to assume "alarming proportions." According to the magazine, shipping officials regarded the Indian passenger as "an unmitigated nuisance" because of his demand for special food: "It has happened, for instance, that it was not convenient to allow them their own way in the matter of preparing food. They have simply starved until it was convenient." The only thing, said *Collier's*, that the Indian had in common with the Americans was a desire for money. Most of them expected to make a fortune and return to India in six years. The magazine quoted immigration authorities as believing that Indians were being brought to the United States in violation of the contract labor law but said that no evidence could be gathered to support this belief as the Indians, to a man, claimed that they had come on their own initiative and at their own expense.⁶

An article in *Forum* in June, entitled "The Tide of Turbans," began by saying, "Again on the far outposts of the western world rises the spectre of the Yellow Peril and confronts the affrighted pale face." This note of sarcasm faded as the article went on to emphasize the unassimilability of the Indian immigrants and closed with the observation that "No legal bar, under the present treaty, can be set up against the coming of the Hindoos. Being subjects of Great Britain, they possess an undisputed right of entry to the United States."⁷

The Survey, in October, after beginning with the rather exaggerated report that 5,000 Indians had arrived in San Francisco during the past twelve months, quoted Rev. George E. Burlingame of that city as saying:

. . . two problems are obviously involved in this new phase of foreign invasion. The civic and social questions concern the ability of the nation to assimilate this class of Hindus and their probable effect on the communities in which they settle. Their habits, their intense caste feeling, their lack of home life — no women being among them — and their effect upon standards of labor and wages, all combine to raise a serious question as to whether the doors should be kept open or closed against this strange, new stream. The other question concerns the welfare of the thousands who are already here and the communities in which they have settled. This is likely to put to a severe test the civic and religious forces which are faced with the new duty of Americanizing and evangelizing them.⁸

Apparently the swamis were having better luck with the Americans than the Christian ministers were having with the Indians.

The West Coast newspapers of 1910 echoed the sentiments expressed in the magazines. The files of the Bureau of Immigration are filled with clippings sent by individuals and organizations to support protests against unrestricted Indian immigration. The citizens of Glen Park and the Mission District of San Francisco wrote, for example, that while they welcomed the emigration of Caucasians of every nationality they could but condemn Hindu emigration on the basis that "the Pacific Coast is fast becoming the dumping ground of the most undesirable people who's [*sic*] morals and customs make any assimilation with our citizens an impossibility."⁹ The letter was addressed to California Congressmen E. A. Hayes, who, in turn, was a little confused as to which government agency he should appeal. In transmission, it crossed the desk of Benjamin S. Cable, then acting secretary of the Department of Commerce and Labor, who sarcastically remarked, "He didn't even know what department the bureau is in. His remarks on the floor of the House show a similar ignorance of the whole question."¹⁰ Although the bureaucratic tables of organizations were beyond him, Mr. Hayes then — and subsequently — reflected the mood of his constituency correctly.

Professor H. A. Millis of Stanford University, in an article published at about the same time as Har Dayal penned his ecstatic evaluation of Indians in America, did not see the same qualities of industry and self-reliance in the Sikhs that Har Dayal had observed. He said that they were usually paid the lowest wage, did the least work and required the most supervision of all of the races — presumably non-Caucasian — employed and hence found little favor with the West Coast farmers and ranchers.¹¹ In fairness to Har Dayal, it should be said that he was aware that the Sikhs had kept themselves aloof from American society, that they were considered dirty, and that they were often oblivious to sanitary standards set by officialdom in their adopted country. Such criticisms, he felt, even if valid, were outweighed by the fact that in America the Sikhs developed "a keen sense of patriotism, which manifests itself in deeds of kindly service to their fellow countrymen here, in quickened interest in public affairs, in the revival of religious consciousness, in preference for an independent career on their return to India, and in constant readiness to subscribe large sums of money for the corporate welfare."¹² Thus Har Dayal regarded the Sikh in America as markedly superior to his counterpart in India. An American, judging the Sikh without knowing what his attitudes and condition might be like in India would find it difficult to imagine that his sense of citizenship had been virtually nonexistent and his standard of living even lower.

As for students, it was not long before their activities were viewed with considerable alarm by U. S. immigration officials. These earnest seekers after Western knowledge were looked upon as potential agitators raising issues that might lead to internal discomfiture and external embarrassment.¹³ The situation was somewhat similar in the case of alien spies, but the swamis, as Har Dayal had noted, did indeed have their enthusiastic clientele and seemed safe from official intervention in their lives.

RETREAT TO HAWAII

In addition to extolling the land of opportunity and the virtues of democracy, Har Dayal, in a very moving passage in his article about Indians in America, revealed his own internal conflict and something of his emotional and intellectual ambivalence. Visiting the Hindu temple made him homesick, he said, and stimulated within him a desire to find a place in the West which would provide a "soul-uplifting atmosphere of calm solitude" where he might "perfect the process of self-development." This called for a "warm and equable climate, such as that which Nature has bestowed on India." He had not found his *tapovan* (sacred grove) in Europe, nor on the east coast of the United States. Everywhere he had been was "all noise and snow and conventionality." Southern California, he had thought, might provide both a climate and an environment conducive to uninterrupted meditation and, hopefully, where a "spiritual aspirant" would not be hauled before a magistrate as a "vagrant and vagabond."¹⁴

Although Har Dayal had been persuaded to return to the world from a poor room in Martinique, he obviously still cherished the search for spiritual fulfillment associated with the traditional Indian holy man. Again there was the compulsion to withdraw. He now discarded the idea of Southern California in favor of Hawaii. While the islands' "warm and equable climate" undoubtedly had its attractions, there is speculation that he may have gone in the hope of meeting with Sun Yat Sen, at that time in Honolulu. According to an old friend who received a letter from Har Dayal from Hawaii, his life was much as it had been in Martinique. He lived in a cave fronting on Waikiki Beach. He ate wholemeal bread, boiled potatoes, and raw vegetables. He made friends with Japanese Buddhists and frequently discussed religion with them. He did not devote himself exclusively to the study of Buddhism, however, and it was here that he began to read Karl Marx.¹⁵ He now began to urge his fellow countrymen to accept the values of the West.

The first of a series of articles published in the *Modern Review* calling for this commitment he wrote in Honolulu at the end of August, 1911. It was more than a year before it was published. Under the title, "Some

Phases of Contemporary Thought in India,"¹⁶ he first called for wisdom in "our fight against sin, ignorance, and suffering in this world of sorrow and strife." India, he called "the forlorn, India the favoured child of misfortune, India the predestined victim of all scourges and calamities that ever visited humanity on its weary march through the ages." He also described it as "an ethical waste, and Dead Sea of moral stagnation," needing to conserve whatever was left of its moral strength.

Two movements of the day, functioning in the name of regeneration, were the target of his attack. The first was that which aimed to elevate the position of the so-called depressed classes, more popularly defined as "untouchables." While he considered this a commendable effort, he felt that the whole institution of caste should more properly be done away with: "I do not acknowledge any caste-system, good, bad, or indifferent. . . ." He suggested that concern with the pariahs might have political overtones because, if uplifted to the status of caste Hindus, there would be no question of their position vis-à-vis the Muslims in the communal allocation of legislative seats. Those who sought to raise the level of the lowly in India were of the higher castes, but, according to Har Dayal, they had no status elsewhere in the world: "All Hindus are pariahs in the society of civilized men and women, whether they are rajas or valets, priests or sweepers. . . ."

The second movement he attacked involved a favorite subject: education. His particular concern was with Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya's "grandiose scheme of a Hindu University." In an almost complete reversal of his earlier stand on "national education," he said, "It is so easy to regenerate India by quarreling anew over Vedic texts and repeating mantras morning and evening. But it is difficult to introduce the great ideas of social equality and personal dignity, of scientific research and rationalism, of economic freedom and organisation, of public spirit and political principle, of popular government and social progress." The builders of India were to study the modern masters and to develop sound and original views for themselves. He felt it specious to use Hinduism as the touchstone of unity in India. The world, he said, was not divided into religious and national units "but only into two rival groups — the champions of truth and her enemies." He concluded by saying that his object in writing the article was to keep young Indians from being "led astray by catchwords or schemes advanced in the name of Hinduism or progress without understanding what progress was."

The time which elapsed from the writing of the article to its publication may have been due to the hesitance of the editors, who felt it necessary to comment at length on what Har Dayal had said. They substantially

supported his views, saying that educated Indians were in a position to profit by the "bitter and pungent pill administered by Mr. Har Dayal," but that the pariahs would find the article of no use to them without some of the uplift which Har Dayal had decried: "If, however, they were properly educated by Depressed Classes Missions and other agencies, they would be able to benefit by his admonition and join hands with their educated brethren to see that India does not forever remain in her present condition." What Har Dayal had to say about the Hindu University movement was also given editorial approval with an interesting comment in regard to the teaching of politics in that institution: ". . . we suppose it will teach political science and political economy of the sort taught in the officialised universities. Idealists like Mr. Har Dayal cannot like this state of things. Nor do we, as we think there ought to be complete freedom of teaching and learning in all subjects taught in a university. But seeing that even in some progressive Western countries, this freedom does not exist, we must not break our hearts over the matter."¹⁷

Reader comments appeared in the next issue of the magazine. One wrote from south India that it "passes one's comprehension that, idealistic in many ways, Mr. Har Dayal should in this case have thought it fit to dismiss with chilling sneer the labours of social reformers."¹⁸ Similar comments came from one who signed himself "Ramajiva." Among other things, he denied that India was politically inactive, and he certainly did not reflect Har Dayal's sense of urgency: "More scrutinizing study, more dynamic activity, more patriotic feeling are indeed our crying needs. But the inspiration will come. The divine breath will stir the waters ere long." He, too, supported the idea of improving the "bestial conditions" of the pariahs and expressed doubt that Har Dayal's "mental energy" was "flowing in the right channel." He then challenged Har Dayal's condemnation of the Hindu University, saying, "I long for the day when the Hindu University halls will ring with the glorious chant of the Vedas as well as with the eloquent speeches of professors on economics and sociology. I long for the day when the banner of Om will float on the towers of its buildings." But he concluded: "I have much to learn from that great man, Mr. Har Dayal. I would count it a piece of good fortune to sit at his feet as a disciple. But in the present instance, the elephant's foot has slipped, as the Tamil saying goes, and I felt that I should not be silent."¹⁹

The Buddha, Karl Marx, social reformers, and the promulgators of the Hindu University were not Har Dayal's only preoccupations. He was apparently still deeply concerned with the fate of the Indian nationalist movement — or at least with one of the figures within the movement with whom he had been closely associated. He wrote from Honolulu to a for-

mer associate in Paris saying that he wanted to write a biography of Savarkar and asked that "all available materials be collected that would be useful in this project."²⁰

RETURN TO THE UNITED STATES

Since Har Dayal never made any mention himself of the Hawaiian interlude, it is difficult to determine why he decided to return to the mainland. In any case, he reestablished himself at Berkeley. As he had in England and in India, he seemed to find a compatible milieu in a university community in the United States: first Harvard and then the University of California. Indians of his class or of his intellectual interests and attainments were also university-oriented, and he must have felt at home among this same group abroad. He did not pursue any institutionalized course of study, but he did associate himself with campus radicals and intellectuals and became acquainted with members of the faculty, notably Dr. Arthur Upham Pope, who had joined the University of California faculty as an assistant professor of philosophy that year, and Dr. Arthur W. Ryder, the Sanskritist. Har Dayal had already noted: "A Hindu's nationality is a passport to social intercourse in the upper classes, and the feeling of cordiality with which he is received deepens into one of homage and admiration if the personality of the individual is at all remarkable."²¹ Balshastri Hardas indicates that Har Dayal qualified as such an individual: "It is well known that Lala Har Dayal was as powerful and enchanting an orator as he was an intellectual giant. His few talks on philosophy so much impressed the American audiences that the Berkeley University invited him to give a series of lectures on Philosophy."²²

Bhai Parmanand, who had arrived in San Francisco while Har Dayal was in Hawaii and enrolled at the University of California's College of Pharmacy, experienced the kind of reception Har Dayal described and indicates that it was he who introduced Har Dayal to the "right" people.²³ There seems ample evidence, however, that Har Dayal entered Bay Area intellectual circles on his own. An early association was with Jack London, who had established himself at Beauty Ranch in Glen Ellen, Sonoma County. Irving Stone recounts that Har Dayal was once a dinner guest at the ranch, along with an American novelist (presumably Winston Churchill, also living at Berkeley and probably the link between Jack London and Har Dayal); a neighboring farmer; an engineer; Luther Burbank; a sailor just back from Penang; Princess Ula Humphrey; an actress who had been in a Sultan's harem; three tramps; and "a lunatic who was going to build a house from San Francisco to New York."²⁴ Jack London immortalized Har Dayal in his novel. *The Little Lady of the Big House*,

in which he is, with names reversed and a variation in spelling (Dyal Har), described as "a revolutionist, of sorts. He's dabbled in our universities, studied in France, Italy, Switzerland, is a political refugee from India and he's hitched his wagon to two stars: one, a new synthetic system of philosophy; the other, a rebellion against the tyranny of British rule in India. . . ." ²⁵

At this time, however, Har Dayal had not resumed his political activities. He was still very much engaged in looking around and reporting what he saw. He was by now a regular contributor to the *Modern Review* and had developed a large following among young Indians, who undoubtedly found solace in his scathing comments on the treatment of women in the West. ²⁶ "All this cant about man's respect and love for women in the West is a disgusting lie," he said. The fact that Western women go to college, play the piano, read the newest books, or even write a novel does not make their position any higher than that of their sisters in the East. As a matter of fact, he pointed out, these things just concealed "the hypocrisy, the misery, the contempt, the awful cruelty" to which they were constantly exposed.

Modern women in the West were prepared for the marriage market as were the slaves put up for sale in Moorish markets. "The only difference," Har Dayal said, "is that the Moor only wants a round supple form, or tough sinews for domestic labour, but the European exacts more—a knowledge of reading and writing, and of a thousand artificial blandishments and utterly useless trivialities, which have to be acquired by the girls before they can hope to find a husband." As a result, "their talent is wasted, all their natural sweetness disappears, and cunning affectations become second nature to them."

Work for women, according to Har Dayal, was "a humiliating substitute" for their "proper role" — love and motherhood, "essential and incontestable rights of women." His final attack was directed to the men who deserted their wives and families and to the Western institution of divorce. He concluded, however, on a note of hope, the first articulation of the philosophical synthesis toward which Har Dayal was to work for a lifetime:

. . . woman, both in the East and the West, will emerge from this slough of despond by the united efforts of young men and women of all nations. Neither the East, ancient or modern, nor the West, nor again a union of the two, but something higher than both, will save us. Some noble souls dream of the interchange of ideas and ideals between the East and the West, but that will not give us much. Barbarism added to barbarism remains barbarism still. Above the East and the West, far from the present

misery of both, shines the light of truth, freedom and social cooperation, that beckons us. . . .

Although Har Dayal emphasized the plight of women in the West in this article, he also called attention to some of the evils spawned by democracy and by industrialization, both of which he had enthusiastically hailed in his earlier article about the United States. He described the "down-trodden" working classes in the clichés of the social reformers of the time, and it is questionable how much contact he had actually had with American slums and slum dwellers.

From Western women, Har Dayal turned to Western universities,²⁷ excluding, however, the British institutions, which he characterized as "the veriest cesspools of moral and intellectual stagnation," still living in the Middle Ages with "compulsory Greek, degrees in theology, chapels, Toryism, Mill's political economy, gowns, orations in Latin, aristocratic Rectors" — anachronisms in the twentieth century. He lamented the fact that all but the independently wealthy Indians were more or less forced to study in England if they hoped for civil service or professional careers at home. He urged those who could afford it to go elsewhere, preferably to Germany for training in "scientific agriculture" and "technical industry." As a clincher, he pointed out that the Japanese flocked to Germany, adding, "the Japanese knows a good thing when he sees it." Har Dayal gave France high marks, calling Paris the intellectual center of the world. He warned, however, that young Indians might find this sybaritic city "too gay and glittering," and the ethics of sex "not quite orthodox." The chances of going astray were great and the risks of debauchery and debilitation alarming.

Har Dayal had little quarrel with the academic aspects of American universities but called attention to the high cost of living on campuses in the United States which might lead Indians to become conspicuous for their "shabbiness, niggardliness, or puritanism." He advised against selecting an East Coast school where the climate was enough to send an Indian home a consumptive for life: "it is colder than your ice cream," he said, by way of making his point. He thought that the West Coast schools were best for the poor young Indian willing to work in order to live up to comparable American standards. He also recommended the University of Lausanne in Switzerland and took one more swipe at English culture as being "only a modified variety of medieval barbarism, with its piety, its hypocrisy, its timidity, its conservatism, its immobility, and its coarseness."

While Har Dayal was writing about his impressions of life abroad for Indians, he was, at the same time, making an impact on those with whom he associated in the United States. His lectures at Berkeley had attracted

attention across the bay, and in just about a year after his arrival in the United States he had joined the faculty of Stanford University, a fact which was later to lead to the discomfiture of the top administrators of this august institution

STANFORD

In a letter to Har Dayal, Dr. David Starr Jordan, president of Stanford, told the young Indian that the Board of Trustees had approved his appointment as "Lecturer on Indian Philosophy in the University for the current semester [January 8 to May 15], the appointment to be without salary."²⁸ Har Dayal responded in writing and accepted the appointment and its terms.²⁹ The fact that he accepted no money from Stanford is explained by his colleagues as an adherence to the high principles of *vidya dan*, meaning literally, "the gift of learning." How Har Dayal supported himself was a question that later intrigued United States immigration officials. When they asked how he had financed his academic pursuits and maintained himself, he told them that although he had received scholarship assistance at Oxford, he had not since "been dependent on any such help for my studies and travels. I have property at home." He then went on to say, "I receive money from my family, who are all lawyers," adding that he also earned money from his writings.³⁰

After Har Dayal was accused of conspiring with the Germans during World War I, Dr. Jordan insisted that the Hindu had never been a member of the Stanford faculty but merely "a graduate student, who without pay, was permitted to give lectures on Hindu philosophy."³¹ The record denies Dr. Jordan's claim that Har Dayal did not have faculty status. For one thing, the Stanford catalogue listed him as a member of the faculty of the Department of Philosophy, with the following identification:

Har Dayal, Lecturer on Indian Philosophy
B.A., Punjab University, 1903; M.A., 1904.

Aitchison-Ramrattan Sanskrit Scholar, 1903-1905; Lecturer in History and Economics, St. Stephen's College, Delhi, 1905; Government of India Scholar at Oxford (History and Economics), 1905-1907; Boden Sanskrit Scholar, Oxford, 1907; Casberd Exhibitioner in History, St. John's College, Oxford, 1907.³²

For another, the academic secretary of the university not only confirmed that a faculty appointment had indeed been vested on Har Dayal but that the appointment had been renewed for the 1912-1913 academic year.³³ Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur, Dr. Jordan's successor, noted with a certain degree of wryness that "two years later, even seven years later and more, that "temporary appointment" was still in effect, so far as the news

reporters were concerned — a situation not uncommon with the press, as all university presidents know.”⁸⁴

Shortly after he joined the Stanford faculty, Har Dayal wrote an article entitled, “What the World is Waiting For,” which appeared in an American magazine, the *Open Court*.⁸⁵ Har Dayal’s point of departure was the concluding paragraph of his article about women in the West in which he had suggested that there must be something above existing ideologies that transcends both East and West. This, he says, is what the world is waiting for. He began with what has become an almost timeless lead:

We live in an age of unrest and transition. The old order is changing in all countries and among all nations, but the new is not yet born. The time-spirit is in travail, but the Ideal, which shall be a Messiah unto humanity, has not yet been ushered into light. We are all looking for some great spiritual force, which should rescue us from the slough of despond and sensuality in which civilization seems to be perishing. And civilization knows it.

Admitting “that the idealist is always dissatisfied with his generation, and every age has been branded as an epoch of infamy and disaster by representative thinkers,” he enumerated two problems which he defined as unique to the day. First was the fact that the majority of educated men and women had no definite philosophy of life. This he attributed to the fact that the churches had lost their power because of “their absurd dogmas, their intolerance, their worldliness and the dependence of ministers on the rich for their support. . . . The new wine of science and comparative religion has burst the old bottles of established religions.” Second, intellectual advance had brought a moral setback. Idealism had given way to a “false gospel of individualism, enjoyment, and philistinism. . . . Idealism, with its great message of poverty and suffering, has fallen among the thieves and robbers of ‘evolution,’ ‘socialism,’ and the rest.” Asceticism, he said, was in “disgrace, and is regarded as incompatible with civilization: “Woe unto such a civilization!”

What Har Dayal is going to prescribe for man’s salvation is obvious: “Renunciation, and renunciation alone, will save humanity,” he says. And, asceticism must be brought to the aid of science and politics, in order that this mighty edifice of civilization may be prevented from tottering to its fall in the twentieth century.” He called for a return to the age of Saint Francis and must have startled his American readers when he said, “The worship of rags, dirt, penance, homelessness, and obscurity in the individual must be reestablished if humanity is to get rid of poverty, disease, dirt, inequality and ignorance.” The Messiah, for whom the world

is waiting, according to Har Dayal, "will be an ideal and not a person, for our ideal is so vast and grand that no one person can realize its entirety. Therefore we put the ideal first, and then we shall have devoted servants of the ideal as our prophets and seers." The ideal, as he saw it, was the unification "in one beautiful whole" of the separate ideals of Saint Francis, Saint Rose, Rousseau, Voltaire, Marx, Bakunin, Mazzini, and Haeckel. To his "perplexed and doubt-tossed" American sisters and brothers, Har Dayal concluded with the message: "Touch science, politics and rationalism with the breath of life that renunciation alone can give, and the future is yours."

At the same time that Har Dayal was urging Americans to adopt the time-honored Indian practices of renunciation and asceticism and to look inward for their salvation, he appealed to Indians to look outward, to turn to the great modern thinkers of the West for guidance. He proposed the study of Karl Marx, whom he defined as a saint and a sage whose name was revered by millions in all of the countries of the West. This article by Har Dayal, "Karl Marx: A Modern Rishi,"³⁶ was the first ever written by an Indian on either the man or his ideas, says P. C. Joshi, who is writing a history of communism in India. That the editors of the *Modern Review* did not wholeheartedly concur with some of the Marxian doctrine is indicated by footnotes in rebuttal. When Har Dayal, for example, says that communism asks for the abolition of money on the grounds that a merchant, by buying and selling, makes money doing "absolutely no work of any kind," the question is asked, "Is that true?" And, "All this sounds very plausible, but we cannot conceive how civilised existence would be possible without some sort of money." Similarly, when the Marxian ideal of equal distribution is introduced, the editors comment: "We do not understand how 'equal' distribution of products can be just. For supposing private capital and private property in land were abolished, would all men even then be equally intelligent, skilful and industrious, so as to be entitled to an equal share of products?" Marx, as the editors indicate, would be difficult for a society schooled in the inequalities, rather than the equalities, of man.

Actually, Har Dayal devotes most of his attention to the "sacrifices" of both Marx and his wife in the name of Marxian principles. As for the principles themselves, he says: "I am one of those who do not attach much importance to these theories, and regard them as one-sided and defective. Their usefulness consists in supplying the justifiable aspirations of the labouring-classes with a nominal theoretical basis." He then comments on Rousseau's theory of a social contract, which he says was historically and logically untenable, but served to establish the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people, which was "the crying need of the times." Similarly, "Marx's

theory of the class-struggle and his theory of value are not very accurate or convincing but they represent the present practical ideal of the working-classes and harmonise with it." He rejects the Marxian materialistic conception of history as a half-truth:

Society is not an agglomeration of molecules, and man is not a machine. Social evolution is not a continuous process. There is no law of social progress visible anywhere. Human history is moulded by natural environments and by man's will. Carlyle's theory of civilisation as a product of personal influences is much nearer the truth than that of mechanical scientific evolution advanced by Marx and Spencer. Marx admitted the potency of social choice in evolution, but he regarded the "laws" of progress as predominant and gave a secondary position to human volition. This interpretation of history is vicious and misleading. History reveals no law or process or even a tendency. Change is the only law discernible there. The rest is chaos, which great men try to turn into cosmos.

As for the class struggle: "I repudiate the idea that society is divided into classes by any hard and fast line of demarcation. It is not class-selfishness, but social co-operation based on the appreciation of a higher ideal, that has been the motive force of progress in all epochs."

Har Dayal acknowledged his inability to speak with much authority in regard to Marxian doctrine, being content to say that he preferred not "to wallow in all the filth and mire of the present predatory economic system. I know that the workingmen and peasants are sweated and deprived of their dues: I know that the manufacturers and land-owners fatten at their expense: I know that society suffers enormously by leaving production to selfish greedy capitalists." He had absorbed the vocabulary, if not the principles. Har Dayal honors Marx primarily as a benefactor of humanity, "the first thinker of modern Europe who has faith in the working-classes. . . . He teaches them to believe in themselves by telling them that he believes in them. They think they are weak: he tells them they are strong, for he puts his trust in them. This is the secret of all reform." Then Har Dayal associates Marx with Christ and Buddha — who also made heroes out of the scum of the earth — pointing out that Jesus was a leader of fishermen, outcasts, and "erring sisters," and that Buddha preached in the vulgar tongue and drew to himself ordinary men and women. He concluded by referring once more to Marx's life of sacrifice, saying, "Some one must suffer that the world may be helped. Reader, will you be that one?"

Har Dayal must have caused some confusion in the minds of his Indian readers, for in the very next issue of the *Modern Review*, he turns from self-sacrifice to self-interest. In an article, "Indian Philosophy and Art in the West,"³⁷ he says to the Western-educated young Indian: "The

whole world is open to you. You can make careers for yourselves everywhere, if you are worthy. Youth should yearn for experience and adventure. Come out of your Indian holes — or homes. See the world and its way. Know the great nations and make yourselves known to them. Then all our hopes will be realised — not before, not before.” With the thoroughness of a modern-day market analyst, Har Dayal, in this article, surveyed India to determine what in her heritage would be most saleable to the rest of the world. He gave some points to literature but concluded that translation of the great Sanskrit classics was best left to Westerners in view of the fact that Hindus had had little success in this field: “The *vina* [lute] of language, touched with alien fingers, gives only a few jarring notes.” But the highest mark went to philosophy, “our pride and our curse. It is the most superb achievement of the Hindu intellect and the most disastrous force in Hindu history.” India didn’t need philosophy at home, he said, but it should be readied for export. Its sale abroad would provide young Indians with the means by which they could devote their energies to the study of economics, science, and sociology: “Our scanty intellectual resources should be devoted entirely to practical pursuits and not to metaphysical speculation.” There was a market for Hindu philosophy because the Western world could spare men for such pursuits, and sufficient spade work had been done to arouse Western curiosity.

Having isolated the product and determined the market, Har Dayal went on to show how it could best be packaged. Based on his own experience, he cites five rules:

First. Free Hindu philosophy from religion of every kind because universities in the West are not concerned with religion and, moreover, they want no part of any Eastern religion. Pure philosophy will be welcomed.

Second. Waste no time on making distinctions between orthodoxy and heterodoxy, distinctions which, after all, are only the work of “cunning priests” and a “remnant of priestly fanaticism.”

Third. Reject the partisan spirit of competing Indian universities. Western students have no interest in the “war cries” of the different schools.

Fourth. Separate philosophy from mysticism and practical work. Deal only with its intellectual aspects. Forget about breathing lessons: “Philosophy will get a bad name if it is regarded as the hand-maiden of yoga. I believe the less we talk of yoga and its funny injunction the better it will be for us both in India and elsewhere.”

Fifth. Know something about Western philosophy in order to interpret Indian philosophy in terms of European thought.

This could almost be Dayal conducting a sales meeting, so practical is

his advice and so conscious is he of overcoming any built-in resistance to the product.

Philosophy, Har Dayal said, "is our ladder to social recognition in the assembly of nations as member of the Aryan family." Art is "the second string to our bow":

All cultured people in Europe and America love art or have to say that they love it. A taste for art is a fashionable accomplishment, like an automobile or a summer villa. Ladies who know nothing of art must go into raptures over the old pictures and ugly busts, for they belong to the cultured classes and are expected to appreciate art. Well, something is better than nothing. As they say, assume a virtue if you have it not.

But Har Dayal warned that although lecturers on Indian art would be cordially welcomed in American society, "they must know their subject thoroughly." Philosophy and art, then, were an Indian's passport to recognition.

In addition to revealing a clear-headed, business-like approach to the problem of raising India's prestige in Western intellectual and cultural circles, Har Dayal exposed his sensitivity to skin color "this cursed pigment, that erects a barrier between the Hindus and other civilised races everywhere" and his own stand in regard to Hindu philosophy "I myself do not subscribe to any system of Hindu philosophy, but I see that those old thinkers perhaps exhausted the possibilities of human thought in the field of pure metaphysics."

In his next article,⁸⁸ Har Dayal launched a scathing attack on India's backwardness and accused its intellectuals of squandering the "wealth of the nation," which he defined as the "intellect and character of its men and women." The white races, he said, did not enjoy "some innate superiority" in these attributes. Indians had both but had not developed either to any remarkable degree, especially character: "India has in fact too little of it. But that little should be spent for worthy objects. We are more foolish than selfish, more demented than depraved."

Although he deplored the use of intellect for personal gain rather than social welfare, he felt the greatest waste was to apply it to philosophy and metaphysics, which, he said, had "elevated sophistry to the rank of an art and substituted vain fancies for knowledge." Having flushed his quarry he took off in pursuit in full cry: "While so much transcendental nonsense is being perpetrated, famines are desolating the land, pestilence and malaria hang like a pall on town and country, and there is not a single decent representative institution, technical institute, laboratory or library in the whole country." Encouraging young men to seek wisdom in the age-old

sacred texts was "as if a caravan should travel across the desert to the shores of the Dead Sea in search of fresh water!" Read, he said, Rousseau, Voltaire, Plato, Aristotle, Haeckel, Spencer, Marx, Tolstoi, Ruskin, Comte: "You are not living in the tenth century before Christ. You don't travel in village-carts: you do not read manuscript rolls. Then why be so backward in your studies as to move round and round the old track discovered by your sages long ago?" One wonders what he taught his Stanford students in the name of Indian philosophy.

Har Dayal also attacked the traditional Indian ascetic in terms of dissipation of moral power. Men attained a high degree of "moral self-culture" in solitary contemplation, he said; but their concern is individual realization and not social regeneration. Similarly, he caustically attacked the waste of moral power in "emotional mysticism" and the superstition attached to pilgrimages and vows of abstinence. He also said a large part of moral power was used "in futile or successful attempts to check minor evils in the social system." Here he referred to the good men who fed the poor and nursed the sick without any knowledge of the causes of social ills: "Everyone is very earnest and busy, but without wisdom. All sorts of unimportant evils attract the attention of some 'patriots,' but the greatest evil of all somehow or other escapes their notice."

In a final exhortation, Har Dayal urged the young men of India to turn their attention to the study of ethics, science, sociology, economics, and politics, which "should be to you in place of the doctrines of the Vedas." He had come a long way from the "national" education he had once espoused as the best defense against the denationalization of Indian intellectuals. The extent of Har Dayal's metamorphosis is apparent when it is remembered that exactly one year before he had written of his own longing to retire in contemplation and to pursue the life of the traditional Indian holy man — an aspiration he now castigated.

Har Dayal's views did not go unchallenged. One of his readers called attention to the fact that the Western thinkers to whom Har Dayal directed young Indians were themselves metaphysicians: "In fact, an impartial and profound study of physical, biological and sociological sciences necessarily leads one into an enquiry into their first principles, which is nothing but metaphysics." One critic agreed with "much of what Har Dayal writes about the superstitious tendency and the unsound social system of India. My only point is to save Religion and Metaphysics from the attacks of his murderous pen."³⁹ Har Dayal would consider it justifiable homicide.

The chances are that Stanford officials were not aware of Har Dayal's literary productions, nor would they have had any special concern, since his writings at this stage were more pedantic and moralistic than inflammatory, even by that institution's standards at the time. Certain misgivings

were evinced, however, about his extracurricular activities closer to the university's home ground. Dr. Jordan began to receive complaints from parents of some of the students who did not share Har Dayal's views on marriage, property, and government. Har Dayal had apparently ignored the advice of a colleague that he keep his "anarchist theories" to himself or else "write a book on the subject after maturing his views for some years."⁴⁰

Har Dayal had become an ardent sponsor of "free love," and an article which appeared in one of the San Francisco newspapers called attention to this fact. It was reported that a former Stanford student and the daughter of a Philadelphia woman writer had entered into a "free love" contract prior to their marriage. Har Dayal was quoted as saying that the young man involved was one of his best friends and that he desired to express his sincere appreciation of his courage and wisdom in defying custom and conventionality by entering into the "free love" contract before marrying. Defining himself as a "consistent and convinced opponent of the entire fabric of slavery and hypocrisy that is called the 'marriage system,'" Har Dayal said that he was proud to claim the bridegroom as a "pioneer of women's freedom in this country" and hoped that his example would be followed by many other young men who have "noble ideas of life." He added that he did not agree with the bride that "this type of marriage has solved the entire marriage problem." The newspaper further reported that Har Dayal had sent a telegram to the couple: "Heartiest congratulations on marriage. May all happiness crown you brave pioneers of women's freedom."⁴¹

Another such pioneer was Frieda Hauswirth, with whom Har Dayal was apparently rather intimately associated at Stanford. He later described their relationship as having led to a "peculiar experience" for him.⁴² She was a Swiss who had come to the United States when she was seventeen years old and was working her way through Stanford. There, she met not only Har Dayal, but Arthur Munger, a young American who later received his degree in medicine. Both were students in Har Dayal's philosophy class and were subsequently married in a ceremony which, according to a newspaper account, "accentuated the social side of marriage and minimized the religious."⁴³ This idyll was short-lived, however, as Miss Hauswirth was back in her homeland within a year of the marriage, contemplating divorce.

In later correspondence with Miss Hauswirth, Har Dayal indicated that he had felt a strong emotional attachment for her. He must have offended her with his ardor, though, as he wrote:

Frieda, dear, don't talk of what happened or of forgiveness, etc. I understand it all. One day you will tell me what really happened, for everything was inexplicable and mysterious to me. I suffered great anguish

then, but all that is gone now. I am calm and rational. I think (now that I look back upon it) that I loved you somewhat — in my own way as a revolutionist and an idealist can love. That is the only explanation I can now give of my uncharitableness and grief and bewilderment at parting with you. How love makes us mean! I trust I shall never *fall* into it again. It is really a *falling* morally. I, one of the most convinced opponents of that sort of romantic love, was touched by it a little. And Frieda, what an experience it was!

In Palo Alto without her, he said,

I wander about the streets sad and weary, thinking of all that has been, the room where you typed my essays on Hindu philosophy, the 127 C. house where we would sometimes stand talking in the street, till midnight, the room in Miss Mills' house where Dr. Jordan was present at the party and you in your glory, the walks by the creek — do you remember? — I think of all those days and my heart is sick unto death.

In other self-admitted "overdemonstrative and overeffusive" outpourings he wrote, "And I longed to see you, in spite of everything. I argued that I *must* not see you, but feeling was stronger than argument. So you left, and I could not even see you and in my heart was a big void, and I said, 'I will forget her; it is no use.'" And again,

Oh, Frieda, my heart has been like a withered flower since those days. The great chagrin of my life was there — Frieda is gone. For I believe that once a friend, always a friend. I can't understand friendships that cease. I yearned for you and thought of you — and that sorrow, in the recesses of my heart, made me cry. "What is life, after all?"

Har Dayal could not resist adding unctuously that Frieda needed "*steadiness* and a sense of responsibility and *solidity*." (The emphasis is his.) Her moral nature was like her physique, he said, "— it can't bear any great pressure. And while it adds charm to physique, it is disastrous for character." He then called attention to her "fine potentialities" and "high aims," adding parenthetically, "in spite of all the disparagements that my friends indulged in after those incidents," whatever they may have been.

Frieda must have shared her professor's social concerns, as he mentioned a letter she had written to the *Bulletin* about some unidentified "social evil," saying, "I was so proud of it and wanted to congratulate you on it, but refrained. You have literary talent. You have oratorical talent. But, my dear friend, all this will be useless if you don't develop *steadiness*, the capacity of taking pains and pursuing an aim confidently." Har Dayal obviously felt that he could have offered her the necessary lessons in char-

acter-building as he added, "Pardon me but I must say that you lost a great chance when you ran away from me. . . ." ⁴⁴

Frieda did not share the same memories of nor the same nostalgia for the Palo Alto days. She said she was unable to overcome "a fundamental fear and suspicion" about being with Har Dayal: "somehow I simply do not feel on safe ground with him." When they did meet later, she reported that he had spoken of "the old, old thing." He told her "that facts were still the same, but that for various mentioned reasons he had renounced all physical claim. . . ." She would run no risk, he said, of "bother" in this respect," but he wanted to retain the "idealistic" claim. She added parenthetically that she believed the reasons which Har Dayal had given for his renunciation were "sincere ones," but in spite of these assurances, she said she would always feel as if she were "standing on a personal volcano which might at any time in the future erupt again, and . . . work havoc in my personal life and relations. . . ." Finally, she wrote, "I know today as well as in the past, that I have not, and will never have reciprocal feelings for Har Dayal. . . ." ⁴⁵

Whatever happened between Har Dayal and Frieda Hauswirth at Palo Alto assumed scandalous proportions among the Indian colony, not only the West Coast but in the Middle West. Surendranath Mohan Bose, also a prominent figure in expatriate nationalist activities, wrote to Miss Hauswirth from Chicago:

I feel reluctant to ask a question, which you may answer if you please. But if you care to answer, please be perfectly frank and let me know all about it, as the matter has gone very far and will prejudice the whole Hindustan community in America before our countrymen in India. For some time past I have been hearing various kinds of allegations against Har Dayal. . . . Some of these charges are very grave and I could not believe them, in fact I cannot yet believe that Har Dayal could have fallen so low. Sometime back I heard from F. W. [not identified] and he says that he himself saw letters in which Har Dayal had made his immoral proposals. Now I want to know the whole truth from you as attempts have been made to bring these matters thru papers before the Hindu public in India and ruin Har Dayal and his work. If Har Dayal is innocent of these charges, we shall take the cudgel to defend him and his work and if he is guilty we will leave him severely alone and try to save our student community from being misrepresented as a result of his individual actions and beliefs. I don't presume to dispense justice in this matter, but I am concerned with the good name of our fellow students. But I don't believe in persecuting a man whether guilty or not. We have evils and ignorance enough in the world to fight against and keep ourselves busy. ⁴⁶

But even if Har Dayal's interlude with Frieda did entail the obsessive devotion he describes, his preoccupation with her did not displace his

involvements with other people and ideas. During the summer vacation months of 1912 he was vigorously widening his circle of "radical" friends, planning a series of ten lectures on sociology, contemplating the publication of a "propagandist" magazine, and making contact with Sikh farmers in the Stockton area. This is revealed in a series of letters which he wrote to Van Wyck Brooks, who was also a member of the Stanford faculty as an instructor in English. Har Dayal's friendship with Brooks was lifelong. He made frequent reference in his later life to the walks and talks shared with Brooks at Palo Alto and to the Sunday night suppers with the Brooks family, at which he was apparently a regular guest. During the vacation that summer, Brooks and his family were at Carmel, and in each letter Har Dayal mentioned the hope that he could join them there: "How I long to meet you and bask in the tranquility of your presence. Your company has always had a desirable and much-needed sedative influence on my spirit, for I am always over-stimulated every minute of my life. . . . Do you think I shall be able to talk to interesting people if I come? I hear that Carmel is a kind of rendezvous for clever and literary persons. I wish very much to come."⁴⁷

Brooks, commenting upon his association with Har Dayal at Stanford, said that the young Indian revolutionist was a type new to him. Har Dayal was teaching Indian philosophy but "mainly to conceal his real life-work as an organizer of Indian rebellion. He carried this mystification so far as to stage at my house a colloquy" in which he "boldly affirmed that the international social revolution was his only interest." Brooks called attention to later stories that Har Dayal was "conducting a school for terrorists in Berkeley," and provided an interesting insight into the Hindu's life style in Palo Alto. Har Dayal, Brooks said, was "living like a saint or a fakir in a small room near the railroad, with only a single chair for an occasional guest. He slept on the bare floor, for he had no bed, disdaining even a rug to cushion him, as I found when he spent a night sometime at my house." His diet consisted of milk and unbuttered bread and his wardrobe of one old brown tweed suit, "detached as he was from the vanities of the world and the flesh."⁴⁸

Brooks called on Mikhail Bakunin's definition of a revolutionist as one who "has no interests, no affairs, no feelings, no attachments of his own, no property, not even a name," having broken with the codes and conventions that govern other people and having only "one thought, one passion: revolution." Everywhere, said Brooks, "the revolutionist must insinuate himself, turning everything and everyone to his purpose. . . . That, as I knew him, to the life, was Har Dayal." He continued:

For, whether as an Indian nationalist or an anarchist internationalist, he was a revolutionist at every moment with a shrewd psychological knowl-

edge of the value of the martyr's role for attracting and retaining disciples to carry out his work. I think he was entirely sincere in saying that he would gladly have been burned alive in front of the post-office at Palo Alto because this would have raised up a host of ardent apostles, and he knew the utility of self-mortification in its effect on others as well as in fanning his own flame. He had studied the life of Ignatius Loyola, trying to discover the secret of Loyola's influence over his adherents. . . . India was always on his mind, which seemed to combine in a curious way the opposite types of the "yogi" and the "commissar." Nationalism was his ruling passion and had been since the time when he was so notorious a student at Oxford, planning with other Indian students an order of Hindu ascetics to boycott British institutions in their own country. He was convinced that the British were undermining the Indian character and that the Raj was quite as absurd and unjust as a growing body of Englishmen agreed in feeling, while nothing could stop the insurrections that were always breaking out there in spite of all the espionage and all the seizures. They were the result of what Wells called "the resentment of men held back from life, with their mouths gagged and their hands bound behind them," fighting an Empire that George Orwell described as "simply a device for giving trade monopolies to the English." As Orwell went on to say, you hated your own people when you heard your Oriental friends called "greasy little babus," and you longed for a rising that would "drown their Empire in blood," a feeling that Americans like myself seemed to have been born with. But while one understood it, Har Dayal's nationalist propaganda, — which he soon ceased to conceal after I knew him, — was rather a strain when one perceived that every breath he drew and every hand-shake had an ulterior purpose. He sent propaganda chocolates to the children of his friends, bestowing on them propaganda kisses, because he thought the friends might serve his cause. . . .

Some of Har Dayal's Indian admirers have considered this evaluation an unnecessarily cynical one,⁴⁹ without realizing that time after time Har Dayal confided his "ulterior motives" to Brooks. He did indeed write: "I am a revolutionist first and everything else afterward."⁵⁰

According to Gobind Behari Lal, the most influential contact Har Dayal made during this period of his life was with Fremont Older, the managing editor of the *Bulletin* and prime mover in the San Francisco graft prosecutions of 1906-1907. Older had support from Rudolph Spreckels and the famous team of William J. Burns, detective, and Francis J. Heney, attorney. Gobind Behari Lal says that when Har Dayal first came to San Francisco, his spirits were at low ebb. The Indian nationalist movement, after the arrest of Savarkar, had "seemed to run down." The radicalism he found in the Bay Area — not only in San Francisco, but in Oakland and Berkeley — "renewed his spirit." San Francisco, Lal says, was "sizzling with reformers. This was an era of progressivism in the city. San Francisco was the sanctuary for Hiram Johnson, who was the impor-

tant leader. Har Dayal was introduced to Hiram Johnson by Fremont Older." Older was the man, says Lal, who "built up Har Dayal. He could not have done a thing in the world if he had not been built up in the *Bulletin*."

The newspaper began publishing a series of articles on India by John D. Barry, the columnist of Irish extraction who was probably sympathetic to the anti-British tone of Har Dayal's comments, which formed the basis for the articles. Some were subsequently brought together in pamphlet form under the title, *Side-Lights of India*. Har Dayal wrote the preface in which he extolled Barry as "the scholar and sage, whose pen had given to the people of America some of the greatest truths for which they have been waiting. Mr. Barry is one of the ablest and noblest men whom I have met in my travel. His charming personality is reflected in his writings, which are marked by rare dignity and sweetness." This introduction was intended for Indian readers, so Har Dayal added, "His heart goes out to you, my beloved countrymen, because you are weak and poor today." For his own part, he said: "Be of good cheer, dear comrades. Our cause is furthered by the wise and good men of all nations. Our voice is stifled at home, but it is heard in other lands. The sympathy of all who have freedom is with you. You are not alone in your struggle. In due time you shall reap, if you faint not " He ended with a Hindi quotation meaning. "Truth alone wins through to victory, not Falsehood."⁵¹

Both Older and Barry, Har Dayal wrote Brooks, had "taken up the cause of India," and this was a source of satisfaction. He also reported having made the acquaintance of "several good Radical friends. I find that radical ideas are more wide-spread than we imagine. It is very encouraging." As a postscript to this letter, Har Dayal referred to a magazine which he intended publishing. He asked Brooks to consider giving it "literary support" should he be successful in raising the necessary capital. "Of course it will be a propagandist magazine. We shall try to circulate it among the two Universities." The name he proposed for the publication was *Advanced Thought*, but he suggested three alternatives: *The Radical Student*, *The University Radical*, *The New World*. He also mentioned that he had met with three prominent Stanford professors in connection with an unidentified "review," which it was hoped Brooks would edit. These were Edward Flügel, English philology; Alphonso Gerald Newcomer, English; and George Holland Sabine, philosophy. Har Dayal commented that the professors "promised support and sympathy," but preferred to wait until it had become successful before forming a committee. "I think they do not like to assume the responsibility involved," was Har Dayal's comment.⁵² He may have been unaware that Dr. Jordan had "a bad name for dismissing professors with unpopular views," being "at the

mercy of the donors of the time for whom, as they said at Stanford, professors were 'cheap.' ”⁵³

One of the high points of the summer for Har Dayal was his lecture for the Industrial Workers of the World entitled “The Future of the Labor Movement.” This, he said, was his “frank confession of faith,” and he commented that it “was a great pleasure to stand out boldly for my ideas. I hate hole-and-corner hypocrisy and silence.” The *Bulletin* gave the speech the fullest possible coverage, an almost word-for-word account.⁵⁴ Har Dayal began by enumerating the “obstacles which beset the path of the worker,” and the six things needed “before the fight for industrial freedom can be won.”

First, solidarity. Labor must think in terms of the whole world. . . . Should one nation acquire freedom, the rich of another nation will crush it. . . . For moral and practical reasons the labor movement must be universal. *Second*, a complete ideal. We want not only economic emancipation, but moral and intellectual emancipation as well. . . . no man will lay down his life for a partial ideal.

Third, good workers and leaders. The rich and respectable cannot lead us. . . . We will have two kinds of leaders First, the ascetics who have renounced riches and respectability for the love of the working man, men like Kropotkin, the St. Francis and St. Bernards of Labor. These will be difficult to find, for such renunciations are scarce and such intellects are few. Secondly, we must have the sons of toil themselves, who must take up their own cross and lead their brothers on.

Fourth, cooperation between the labor movement and the woman's movement. The workers and the women are two enslaved classes and must fight their battles together.

Fifth, constructive educational system. We want central labor colleges where our young men can be taught, not by money, but by men. We do not want endowments, because endowments, with their incomes, are another form of exploitation. A million dollar endowment cannot teach the truth, and our colleges should stand for truth.

Sixth, a feeling of actual brotherhood. The poor must love the poor. The shame of labor is that the poor must accept charity from the rich. We are not so poor but we can care for our own poor. We don't want their stolen goods, but if a burglar comes to our house, let us open the window and invite him in to partake of what we have. . . . We must stand together.

In recounting the dangers ahead for the labor movement, Har Dayal, according to the *Bulletin*,

warned his hearers about the quacks, cowards and cranks whose purpose is to divert the stream to their own private advantage or hobby. Among those he mentioned parliamentarianism and parliamentary Socialism, which, he said, has ended in a blind alley in Germany and Belgium, where

it is strongest. He said the fallacy of this method is that it gives to labor the weapons furnished by capitalism and expects them to free themselves therewith.

In this "testament," the East is slipping away. There is only one reference to asceticism and renunciation, and even this is expressed in Western, rather than Eastern terms. Two views which Har Dayal also expressed are especially interesting in view of his earlier identification with extremism and nationalism. Terrorism, he called "a mixture of heroism and folly," continuing:

Terrorism is a waste of force and gives the other party a chance for need-less persecution. It provides martyrs, but the labor movement, which eschews terrorism, will have its own martyrs in plenty. Ferrar [Francisco Ferrar Guardia, a radical executed by the Spanish in 1909] was a real martyr, but he was killed not for killing, but for his greater love. Preach and suffer, but don't retaliate now. A man who lives and acts in the interests of freedom is himself living social dynamite.

Patriotism, he said, "was devised as another danger, because it was devised to divide the laborers into their various countries and thus into a false division of society."

Har Dayal was aware that his lecture might attract attention at Stanford — his remarks about endowments were rather pointed. He said to Brooks: "I think the University will notice it, but I don't think they will say anything this year. Besides, I have not sold my soul to Stanford in agreeing to lecture there."⁵⁵ Har Dayal was wrong in his estimate of his academic future. His teaching career at Stanford had already ended.

In a public statement, Dr. Jordan said that "the nature of certain outside activities" on the part of Har Dayal led to "a request for his withdrawal,"⁵⁶ but he admitted privately that Har Dayal's resignation was voluntary. In his letter to the Board of Trustees on the subject, in which he even included the information that the University had had to pay the two cents postage on Har Dayal's letter of resignation since he had apparently neglected to put on a stamp, Dr. Jordan said: "I have received a letter . . . from Mr. Har Dayal in which he tenders his resignation of the position of Lecturer in Indian Philosophy. . . . It is thus fair to Mr. Dayal to note that before any of the matters under discussion came up he had tendered his resignation from the University."⁵⁷ Similarly, Har Dayal publicly denied that his resignation from Stanford "was hastened by private radical utterances on social and economic subjects,"⁵⁸ but privately he admitted to Brooks that "the imbroglio at Stanford" had convinced him not to commit himself with a regular institution again: "I am too

erratic and explosive to be institutionalized.”⁵⁹ Frieda Hauswirth later claimed that it was her statements regarding Har Dayal’s “socially revolutionary activities to the faculty at Stanford that caused the demand for his resignation in 1912.”⁶⁰

It was probably a combination of pressure, or anticipated pressure, and preoccupation with the “social revolution” that motivated Har Dayal. The letter of resignation to which Dr. Jordan referred is not in the Stanford files and was probably just a formal statement. Dr. Arthur Upham Pope, who had been a strong supporter of Har Dayal when he first came to Berkeley said that he did not know why Har Dayal left Stanford but it was his belief that it was “due to his own eccentricity.”⁶¹ One of the San Francisco newspapers called attention not only to Har Dayal’s eccentricity — confirming what Brooks had said about the way he lived — but to his rather alarming ideas, as well:

While connected with Stanford, Dayal kept up an active propaganda of his ideas. He adopted ascetic methods of life, adapted, he declared, from his studies of Indian philosophers and Western religious leaders like Ignatius Loyola. He slept on a board, ate nothing but fruit, and claimed that by denying himself all things in life but the satisfaction of his anti-social ideas he would concentrate all his physical and mental powers, and that when he had gathered others of like habits about him he would overthrow society.⁶²

Dr. Ray Lyman Wilbur called Har Dayal “rather a spectacular figure,” who “overplayed his relationship to the University and was the subject of considerable criticism”⁶³ — from what quarter, he did not add. The academic secretary of Stanford confirmed that the resignation was the result of a mutual agreement between Har Dayal and President Jordan, who had met and discussed the matter.⁶⁴ By this time, Har Dayal’s activities in behalf of the social revolution had ballooned and he was even considering a nationwide lecture tour so that he himself said that he preferred to resign.⁶⁵ In a brief letter acknowledging Har Dayal’s resignation, Dr. Jordan expressed his appreciation for the work he had done for Stanford’s students in philosophy. If nothing else, he must have given them, as he had Brooks, an insight into a “new type” of man.

THE RADICAL CLUB

Har Dayal was the founder of the Radical Club and served it as secretary. He defined its members as dissenters from the establishment in any social, political, or intellectual area. Those charged with surveillance of Har Dayal referred to these same members, however, as an assemblage of “Russians, Poles, and Socialists.”⁶⁶ British intelligence to the contrary,

there was apparently never any clear-cut identification of the Radical Club with a particular school of thought or activity. Gobind Behari Lal said that its sole function was to meet at dinner once a month and listen to discussions on science — especially the social sciences — led by academicians or authorities on the particular subject under consideration. Speakers included professors not only from Berkeley but from the East Coast as well. Gobind Behari Lal cited as examples Wesley Clair Mitchell, an economist from Columbia University, and John Reed, a political scientist, and Henry Morse Stephens, the distinguished historian, both from the University of California. The club, he said, “had no organization except that they meet and have what they call a clearing house; it is a clearing house for all kinds of people to speak what they wish to . . . it had no doctrines of its own. It is a clearing house for anyone and everyone to come and vent his feelings.” “Anyone,” he qualified, meant “radical from one point of view or from another,” adding that the organization had no character at all: “They come and discuss any conceivable subject from any conceivable angle.”⁶⁷

The Radical Club may have been what sounded the alarms among Stanford trustees, although it was not until some weeks after Har Dayal's resignation from Stanford that Dr. Jordan supplied the chairman of university's advisory board with a description of the organization under an all-inclusive name, the “International-Radical-Communist Anarchist Club.” In the Stanford report, a person named Manuel Larkin is given credit for thinking up this appellation. He was identified by Dr. Jordan as a man who had been a student at the University of Moscow and had done some advanced work at the University of Chicago. One can almost see him flinch as he added that he was at that time “temporarily employed at Stanford as an instructor in the Economics of business.” He was spoken of, said the informant, as the “originator” of the organization but there is no evidence that anyone other than Har Dayal started the club. Mr. Larkin may have suggested its amplification.

Those present at the particular meeting on which Dr. Jordan had the report (October 12, 1912) included Clarence Darrow; John Barry; Mrs. Fremont Older; Professor Langerock, said to be from Stanford and further identified as the “American Correspondent of the Socialist Press Bureau” (the Stanford cumulative faculty list, however, does not include anyone of that name); and a young girl of about 20, Rose Markham, called “Emma Goldman, Jr.” The theme of the meeting centered around “heroes . . . who have killed rulers and dynamited buildings.” This was probably stimulated by the attempt on the life of Theodore Roosevelt by John Schrank in Milwaukee the very day of the meeting. Miss Markham is reported to have quoted Schrank's cry: “Any president who will put him-

self up for a third term should be shot." Har Dayal commented that the president hadn't actually been killed. Mrs. Older applauded this comment but "nearly all the others approved the shooting of Roosevelt." An unidentified dissenter, present with his wife, said he thought of himself as a radical, "but I believe we can never make progress that way." Although assassins and assassination was the subject for discussion, it did not deter Har Dayal from making a speech in the interest of free love. Dr. Jordan's report concluded with the remark that a reporter from the *San Jose Mercury* had been present and submitted a full account for publication in his paper, but the editor took the view that any coverage of the meeting "would advertise the matter and these people were best passed by in silence."⁶⁸

Another description of the International Radical Club was given by a young man who attended a few sessions. The group he said, met at an Italian restaurant on Market Street. He agreed with Lal that people of radical leanings used to go there to "work off steam."⁶⁹ The unstructured nature of the organization seems a little unusual in view of Har Dayal's predilection for constitutions and rules and regulations. Perhaps he compensated for this in his other venture into organization in the Bay Area.

THE FRATERNITY OF THE RED FLAG

A month to the day after his resignation from Stanford, Har Dayal published a folder in which he invited "all Radical Comrades" to join the Fraternity of the Red Flag. The invitation was in the form of the following formal statement:

I NAME

"The Fraternity of the Red Flag."

II OBJECT

The service of the Radical ideal of life.

III RULES

- (a). All duly qualified persons, above the age of twenty, shall be eligible for admission.
- (b). An applicant for membership shall serve a novitiate of at least one year, and devote himself or herself to moral and intellectual preparation under the guidance of a member of the Fraternity.
- (c). A member shall declare his or her faith in the eight principles of Radicalism, and take the following vows:

The Vow of Poverty and Homelessness.

A member of the Fraternity renounces all wealth, promises not to earn money or be a parent at any time, repudiates all other social ties and obligations, and live[s] a life of simplicity and hardship.

The Vow of Humility.

The Vow of Purity (but not of celibacy).

The Vow of Service and Propaganda.

- (d). A member shall be free to retire from the Fraternity at any time.

IV PRINCIPLES

The eight principles of Radicalism may be summarized as follows:

- (1). Personal moral development through love and self-discipline.
- (2). Personal intellectual development through education and self-culture.
- (3). Personal physical development through hygiene and eugenics.

Institutional Revolution.

- (4). The establishment of communism, and the abolition of private property in land and capital through industrial organization and the General Strike.
- (5). The establishment of free fraternal cooperation, and the ultimate abolition of the coercive organization of Government.
- (6). The promotion of science and sociology, and the abolition of religion and metaphysics.
- (7). The establishment of Universal Brotherhood, and the abolition of patriotism and race-feeling.
- (8). The establishment of the complete economic, moral, intellectual and sexual freedom of woman, and the abolition of prostitution, marriage, and other institutions based on the enslavement of woman.

V

At present, the Fraternity in America, Europe and Australia, will devote its efforts chiefly to the establishment of Modern Schools, and the promotion of industrial organization and strikes (in cooperation with the I.W.W. and the Syndicalist movements). In Asia and Africa, it will further the movements of progress and revolt in various countries.

VI

Comrades, who wish to join the Fraternity or help it with money or advice, are earnestly requested to communicate with Har Dayal, M.A. (formerly Scholar St. John's College Oxford, and Lecturer in Stanford University.)

HAR DAYAL

Ferrer's [sic] Day, October 13,
41 P.C., 1912, A.D.⁷⁰

The "P. C." stands for "Post Commune," a reference to the Paris Commune of 1871. Har Dayal was later to use an "A. H." dating system in which he arbitrarily added 5000 years to an A. D. date, having decided that 5000 B. C. marked the beginning of the "Era of History," and that all dates thereafter should be denoted by A. H., with *Anno Historiae* as the reference point.⁷¹

It is difficult to determine whether this rather amazing document should be analyzed in terms of its naiveté, its eclecticism, or its scope. The obvious comparison is with Har Dayal's earlier delineation of the aims, operations, rules, and regulations of his proposed Political Missionaries' Society. Patriotism and politics give way to universal, economic objectives, but there is still the call for renunciation, education (this time in terms of the "modern" social sciences), and discipline.

It is questionable whether the Wobblies, the syndicalists, socialists, or communists of the time saw themselves in terms of the stated commitments to self-denial and self-realization. Thus it seems unlikely that Har Dayal was overwhelmed with recruits for his newly announced organization. He did not, however, give up the idea that it was possible to establish this kind of monastic order for "Radical Comrades." A little over a year after issuing his invitation, he reported that his movement, which had come to almost exclusively emphasize anarchism, had had a windfall. Har Dayal reported that a woman "comrade" had given six acres of land and a house, which he estimated to be worth about \$7,000, located near Oakland. The property was to include a modern school and a training institute for anarchist propagandists. "This is a great opportunity for us," he said. "This lady will also teach in the School without remuneration." He had named the institute "the Bakunin Institute," and said that it would have a good library. He defined it as the first "monastery" of the Order of the Red Flag. He expressed his happiness over developments and added, "I expect other friends will also give the project their material support. The place is very beautiful — a farm, gently sloping away from the sea; from the top of the hill, we have a magnificent view."⁷²

The project actually became a going concern and the *San Francisco Chronicle* reported two years later that the Institute was functioning — "a socialistic affair" which published a paper in the interests of Har Dayal's social revolution propaganda.⁷³ Har Dayal said that the institute would always offer hospitality to all itinerant lecturers "without distinction of party."⁷⁴ At this time, it was reported that Har Dayal had identified himself with the *Regeneracion* movement⁷⁵ led by the brothers Flores Magon — Ricardo and Enrique — who found it necessary to flee their native Mexico and who continued their propaganda of revolution from the United States. They and their followers were an itinerant group, also anarchists who supported Bakunin against Marx, and whose "idea of a social movement was highly romantic."⁷⁶

The institute and the fraternity apparently dissolved after Har Dayal left San Francisco. Gobind Behari Lal said he knew nothing of it, and nobody seems to know what became of the property. Since Har Dayal

did not identify the donor nor under what name ownership was registered, it was difficult to trace any subsequent transfers.

WRITINGS IN 1913

In the first five months of 1913, three articles by Har Dayal appeared in the *Modern Review*, all indicating that in his involvement with Western ideas and movements, Har Dayal had not forgotten his homeland. In the first article, "Optimism,"⁷⁷ he deals with those aspects of India which would make a despairing pessimist of the hardiest soul. The rest of the world, he says, looks upon Indians as a servile and degraded people, having no character and lacking vigor and strength, disunited, ignorant, and unable to work together. Others think that India's best men are stupid and selfish, its women uneducated and indifferent; that India is centuries behind Europe, having no common spirit and no ability for management. Tacitly agreeing with this evaluation, he adds: "And the obstacles in our way are immense: the other countries of the world are very powerful: they are determined to preserve their superiority over us: they are very skillful in promoting their interests. In this unequal conflict, how can we hope for success soon?" He also asks: "How can we hope for it at all, say some?"

But all is not lost. By applying "the method of Modern sociology," Har Dayal said he had come up with certain conclusions that "should forever dispel all pessimism from the minds of all social workers. He then enumerated and discussed the forces "that represent latent vitality." The first was engendered in the princely states, where there were "life, vigour, virility." Here energies were not "cabined, cribbed and confined." Seventy million Indians could press forward under enlightened leadership — and Har Dayal claimed that the Indian princes, through Western education and travel, were gaining enlightenment — to form a modern society. He urged unselfish young Indians to work with these princes and their councilors toward this transformation.

The second force was represented by the old religious orders, which Har Dayal characterized as "the most independent organized autonomous social bodies within the community." (The "old duffers" in whom Gobind Behari Lal had earlier said Har Dayal had faith.) They were free of "politics" (the quotation marks are Har Dayal's) and had spirit and vitality: "Their sturdy self-assertive pride should be directed into active channels." By contrast, the modern religious organizations, like the samajes, "sing hymns to God, but really obey force. They desire *mukti* [liberation] but hug their chains."

The rise of the middle class — "the most remarkable phenomena of

our society" — was cited by Har Dayal as the third force. Shielded by the British government itself, this class, he says, would furnish leaders for India: "Even princes solicit the favour of this class for recognition and public appreciation, for it controls the newspapers and literature of the country." The transfer of leadership based on land and rank to the rising middle class "is one of the healthiest signs of the time." The problem is to direct its energies into right channels. Resorting to traditional categories, Har Dayal warns against permitting control to fall into the hands of the monied merchants and industrialists of this class: they should only serve the intellectuals; "The Brāhman must be above the Vaishya."

The fifth force are the women, and to develop their latent power, Har Dayal calls on young husbands: "Every young man should be a missionary of public spirit to his wife, and he will have a very willing convert. The young husbands of India have an enormous responsibility to discharge towards their wives in this respect."

The final force lay within the Muslims. Har Dayal refused to believe that strife and tension between the Hindu and Muslim communities was inevitable. The common Western education of their leaders would give them a common set of values, so he said confidently: "Western education will do what Akbar attempted in his days," and the "same force that takes students of both communities to Oxford and Harvard will make them friends at Hyderabad and Bhopal." He concluded by saying that "all the forces are making for the unity and regeneration of India. We are parts of a larger whole, the laws of whose activity must be understood." No advancement could be expected from following the ancient and sacred laws of either Hinduism or Islam. The sources of vitality which he had enumerated must be used, Har Dayal said, and Western methods of civilization be followed: "India will not grow by making a cesspool of itself and breeding the worms and reptiles of antiquity in the twentieth century. She must join the march of the world and cannot help doing so." To those who feared and trembled, he said, "In due time ye shall reap, if ye faint not."

The second article, "India and the World Movement,"⁷⁸ flowed from the first. Har Dayal began by saying, "The Time-Spirit will ring out the old and ring in the new in all civilized countries." He once again asserts his belief in action: "The great secret of progress is continual activity." To bring India in touch with the "living movements" of Europe, he constructs a four-point program. The first is an exhortation to Indians to study European languages. Har Dayal is less than enthusiastic about what can be accomplished if foreign communication is limited to English: "Our students are supposed to bring back European ideas with them when they come home. What they really learn in England and America is only a stale stew of philistinism and hypocrisy, for which Oxford, Cambridge

and Harvard are so famous." Knowledge of French he deemed necessary because "Paris towers over all other intellectual centres like a giant among pygmies." German he called "the language of science and research." The mastering of European languages, he said, should take precedence over learning Sanskrit, although he urged young Indians to study the living mother-tongue of the nation, Hindi. Having acquired the necessary language skill, the young Indian student should attend a Continental university rather than one in England or the United States — this was the second point. Har Dayal's love affair with America was over.

The third, and perhaps the most important point in Har Dayal's program to bring India in line with the world around it involved the remodeling of the social life of the upper and middle classes of India. Pilgrimages, he said, should be made to European capitals rather than to time-honored religious sites in India, such as Hardwar and Puri. Unfortunately, for the Hindu a trip to Europe was nothing short of an ordeal, and he was usually happy to get back to India as soon as possible. Not only was he uncomfortable abroad, but his life style at home precluded receiving European guests: "Our medieval home-life and manners and customs, which some short-sighted nationalists love as emblems of national individuality, are really so many barriers between India and Europe." The members of the upper and middle classes should "*deliberately and persistently*" (italics are Har Dayal's) model their daily social life on the European ideal, because these classes could not lead India without "divesting themselves of the inefficiency, the shabbiness and the general disorder of their daily life." All of these exhortations were penned while Har Dayal himself, as Van Wyck Brooks attested, was living in the traditional Indian style he reviled.

As was to be expected, his final point was his insistence on the study of Western thought as an "efficacious antidote to the poison of indolence, stupidity, pessimism and inefficiency that is undermining our vitality." India could produce "worthy leaders of modern thought" but only after its children had assimilated the teachings of the West: "How can great thinkers arise in Modern India, when our best men are content to live in the cramped and dead world of ancient books?" he asked. "Life can only come from the living: death alone can come from the dead. Let us restore India to full vitality by borrowing the elixir of Europe. *Rite Yurupan na Mukti* [Without Europe there is no liberation]." This is a paraphrase of a famous Sanskrit saying, *Rite jnanam na mukti*, "Without knowledge there is no liberation." And the final clarion call: "The world-force stands around India today, and it says — 'Assimilate me, or I will eat thee up.' And new India should answer: 'I know thee, O Time-Spirit. I will not only assimilate thee: I will control and guide and conquer thee.'"

Har Dayal's third article, "The Indian Peasant,"⁷⁹ was written under

the pseudonym, "X. Y. Z." He was, however, identified as the author in the *Modern Review's* annual index. This is more than the kind of effusive and sentimental tribute Har Dayal paid to the simple sons of the soil in his 1911 article which saluted the Sikhs in America. In "India and the World Movement," Har Dayal had called for remodeling of the style of life of the upper and middle classes of India; but in "The Indian Peasant," he calls for a reconstruction of the whole society, much in the same way as Vivekananda had earlier when he endowed the *sudra* with the role of leadership on the basis of the transfer of power from *varna* to *varna* as time moved forward, or, rather, accomplished its cycle.⁸⁰

During the time he spent in California, Har Dayal did more than speak of his desire to identify with the working classes. The *Bulletin* reported: "In pursuance of his ambition to share the lot of those whose cause he championed, he learned the trade of a shoemaker and toiled over the awl and the last for many months that he might acquire by experience the true viewpoint of the laboring classes. It was with him a practical experiment in the psychology of toil."⁸¹ That this was a preoccupation is also reflected in a letter Har Dayal wrote to Van Wyck Brooks after the latter had left Stanford and gone to England: "I am so much interested to learn of your workingmen-pupils. You may try to get into close touch with them and sympathize with them as men and women and not merely as students. Incidentally, you may note a few facts about working class psychology (social). That's a question we must study before we can organize a movement successfully. I think 'class-Psychology' can be a very interesting and important branch of psychology. Don't you think so?"⁸²

As has been indicated, Har Dayal called the people of India one of the major forces for renewal of vitality. To him, he said, the peasant was the most interesting figure in India: "I would not even put the swami above him." Next, he placed the artisan class in the towns — the weavers, the shoemakers, the factoryhands, the blacksmiths, and the tinsmiths. Then came the unskilled menial class, the scavengers and servants, without whom society could not function — "the immense and varied underworld of India, the submerged humanity that longs to break its chains." This was voiceless India: "In this kingdom of labor, there reigns a stillness as of death. The peasant, the artisan, and the servant are all dumb. Who will give them a voice? Who will be their poet? Who will write a *Ramayana* and a *Mahabharata* for them? India waits her true poet. For the people live in huts and hovels, not bungalows and palaces." If, for no other reason, Har Dayal says, the numerical preponderance of the laboring classes entitled them to the place of honor in society, but they were, in fact, neglected and despised.

After proclaiming himself "the mouthpiece of the disinherited millions," Har Dayal says: "It is remarkable that Indian tradition and history

should have neglected and despised the peasant and the artisan from time immemorial." The varna system which placed the priests and the soldiers above the other two classes he called "an absurd inversion of the natural order of society." The artisans and laborers had been told so long that they occupied the lowest positions in society that they had lost their self-respect. He then called on the application of a national psychology to rectify the wrong done to the great masses of Indian people by the false varna categories. He said that it was no use to proclaim this message to the upper classes but that "the peasant will hail the message with joy. He will know his own worth, when he is told that he is the first, not the third. . . . When he hears it proclaimed that he is the true Arya (the agriculturist), he will rise to his full human stature. He will cease to cringe before the idlers, the pundits and soldiers, the lawyers and the mahajans." It is time, he says, that this "soul-killing tradition of old world sociology" be set aside and new modes of thought implanted in the minds of people. He then excoriates the princes and swamis and regrets that even the fairy tales always begin with a *raja* and a *rani*: "The imagination of the child is thus poisoned at the source." He turns on the swami who, he says, has lost his right to respect in spite of the hymns that exalt him above the peasant and mechanic. They hover around the princes and rich men: "It is strange that persons who have renounced wealth and rank, should try to form an unholy alliance with those who spend their lives in pleasure and indolence. . . . even saints go to princes, but do not visit the peasant's humble cottage."

Politically, Har Dayal said, the peasants and workers were not represented: "Every new movement voices the aspirations only of the well-to-do classes." He goes on to say:

It is curious to find that even the "Extremists" do not care much for the peasantry and the artisans. They perhaps aim at the establishment of a national government with a hierarchy of princes and two Houses of Parliament and so forth. If they are wiser and more democratic, they talk of a republic, with representative government, which would mean the rule of the educated classes and the landowners, bankers and manufacturers. The *people* of India seem to be left out of the calculations of all parties and movements. How is it that we do not think of the peasants and the artisans first? Our psychology is fundamentally wrong. Our imagination stops at the border line that separates the clean and literate classes from the dirty and illiterate masses. Where we stop, there humanity begins. We waste our lives in the service of false gods. The rich classes are only counterfeit coin. They are caricatures of the true humanity that lives its busy life on the field, in the factory and the workshop. The pearl lies at the bottom of the sea: the weeds float on the surface. Even so it is with Society.

Har Dayal then points to the fact that "To the glory of human nature be it said that the pioneers of the emancipation of labor have come from

the upper classes. Love transcends all barriers of class and caste." He then calls for similar leadership in India from educated men who, motivated by "the higher life of love and self denial," would not waste their energy to further the interests of the rich. He addressed himself to men like these: "The People deserve the full measure of your sacrifices. Leave the talkers, the idlers, the parasites, the cowards, the well-off animals of the middle class."

Within the year there were two other articles published in the *Modern Review* under the pseudonym "X. Y. Z.," neither of which was openly attributed to Har Dayal. The first, "Class-Psychology and Public Movements,"⁸³ could well have been his work, since it is a redaction of much which he had said before. There was the familiar indictment of the "parasitic" middle and upper classes and the familiar exhortation — this time in capital letters — GO TO THE PEOPLE. The second, entitled "Twenty-Five Hundred Years of Humane Education,"⁸⁴ was essentially a paean of praise to Indians for their humane treatment of animals, and it too could have been the work of Har Dayal as one looks at sentences like these: "I myself hold that meat should not be the staple food of a community, which really appreciates humane principles, though the use of meat is often necessary and justifiable for economic, hygienic or other reasons. I deprecate fanaticism on this question, for vegetarianism is a cheap virtue and often hinders the growth of more important social virtues." He was later to be considered a real "nut" on the subject.

The most all-inclusive challenge to Har Dayal's views came from R. D. Ranade, who wrote, "A Vindication of Indian Philosophy,"⁸⁵ for publication in the *Modern Review*. In his review of three articles — "India in America," "Indian Philosophy and the West," and "Wealth of the Nation" — Mr. Ranade set himself the task of analyzing Har Dayal's "psychological development" as represented by these three articles and was impelled to take issue with some of the points that Har Dayal had made for a variety of reasons, not the least of which was that Har Dayal's articles were read "all over India by the rising generation with extreme avidity." After scholarly defense of both Hindu philosophy and religion, and an indictment of anarchism and nihilism, he concluded:

If the West and the East are to meet, they will meet in India, and not in Europe. What a glorious prospect lies before India! I see India flinging away superstition, sloth and intellectual inertia. I see her taking up the scientific spirit, and the energy of Europe. I see her assimilating the excellencies of both the East and the West, and rising in the scale of modern nations, preserving all the while the integrity and the pristine purity of her spiritual self!

Needless to say, Har Dayal did not have the same vision. In reply to Mr. Ranade,⁸⁶ he reaffirmed his contention that the study of Hindu philosophy — or any philosophy, for that matter — was a waste of time. He challenged Mr. Ranade's statement that India would evolve "in her own peculiar way" and not like Western countries: "I cannot imagine what this mysterious peculiar way is. History teaches us that there is no royal road to progress. India will emerge from slavery, ignorance, dirt, disunion, and semibarbarism by following the path that led Europe out of the wilderness of the Middle Ages." He called for "renunciation combined with politics and economics" and called Aurobindo Ghosh "greater than Ramakrishna" and added, "There is more wisdom in one of Tilak's political speeches than in all the Upanishads. We do not want our young men to seek for Brahman [ultimate reality] just now. We want them to search for freedom and progress on Western lines."

It was at this point that the editors of the *Modern Review* intervened to comment: "It is our firm belief that in speaking contemptuously of "atman Brahman" in the way Mr. Har Dayal does, he saps the very foundation of moral idealism and loving self-sacrifice." For the rest, Har Dayal's rejoinder reiterated his message: "Come to the West and join the march of the world." Mr. Ranade had seized upon the various inconsistencies that were apparent in Har Dayal's writing to which the young man responded that he admitted that his opinions had undergone modification "But I think that my fundamental convictions are unaltered. Experience teaches, but does not often cause sudden revolutions in personality."

In discussing this period of his life with Van Wyck Brooks, he said that he felt that the time he spent in California was, as he put it, "the time of my apprenticeship." Continuing in this vein, he said: "Some time, in the future (about 8 years hence), I will produce something valuable."⁸⁷ In the meantime, he was still searching for a philosophic synthesis. He told a reporter in 1914: "As for my personal opinions, they amount to nothing. I am changing them all the time."⁸⁸ There were, however, certain aspects of Har Dayal's approach which were beginning to stabilize, whether he applied his ideas to Eastern or Western problems. He continued to emphasize the fact that society was undergoing a significant upheaval all over the world, that intellectual forces should be committed to serving the less articulate strata, and that dignity be accorded universally to women and laborers. In this he joined Vivekananda, the missionary of Vedantic Hinduism, who said at the turn of the century: "Whether the leadership of society be in the hands of those who monopolize learning, or wield the power of riches or arms, the source of its power is always

the subject masses. By so much as the class in power severs itself from this source, by so much is it sure to become weak.”⁸⁹ Jawaharlal Nehru confirmed in 1920 what Har Dayal had said in 1913 about the alienation of the political leadership of an India striving for independence. Nehru wrote in his autobiography: “I realised more than ever how cut off we were from our people and how we lived and worked and agitated in a little world apart from them.”⁹⁰

If Har Dayal at one time extolled the swamis and then turned and damned them; if he once called the princes the hope of new India and then mocked them; if he identified with the Indian intellectual and then rejected this identification, or if he at one time waxed sentimental over Hindu places of pilgrimage and later substituted Paris for Hardwar — these were inconsistencies compatible with his broadening horizons. Har Dayal defies labeling in terms of political, sociological, or economic “schools.” He could readily transfer his preoccupation with syndicalism to anarchism, socialism, communism, or whatever captured his attention. The composition and tenor of the *Radical Club* is most indicative of this kind of intellectual diletantism. A further reflection of this is in the list of titles of books he was thinking about writing: “I am trying to choose from among several subjects: Labor in the XIX Century — or The Feminist Movement — or The Essentials of Anarchism — or The Elements of Sociology — or Education and Anarchism.” He injected a sixth title when he added, “I am inclined to finish ‘The Essentials of Anarchism in Theory and Practice’ first, because I feel the need of it in my propaganda work. But, from the standpoint of the general public (the working class), the ‘Elements of Sociology’ will be a better choice.” He would, he said, decide before the beginning of 1914.⁹¹

For an “apprentice,” the twenty-nine-year-old Har Dayal moved with confidence in a variety of fields, but none of the books he proposed at this time was ever written. By the time he had settled down to write, these titles had been rejected in favor of those having less sociological and political emphasis.

THE DICHOTOMY

Har Dayal never indicated that he had been plagued with any feeling of being torn between East and West, no more than he was plagued with any feeling of intellectual inadequacy. Perhaps it was his search for a synthesis between East and West that precluded emotions akin to those expressed by Nehru when he said that he had become “a queer mixture of East and West, out of place everywhere, at home nowhere: I cannot get rid of either that past inheritance or my recent acquisitions. They are both part of me, and, though they help me in both the East and West,

they also create in me a feeling of spiritual loneliness not only in public activities but in life itself. I am a stranger and an alien in the West. I cannot be of it. But in my own country also, sometimes, I have an exile's feelings."⁹²

Edward Shils calls this self-characterization by Nehru superficial and challenged the common contention that "the Indian intellectual is uprooted, that he lost contact with his country and its culture, that he belongs neither to India nor to the West — and all this because he is an Indian taken by Western ways and ideas." The culture of the Indian intellectual, he goes on to say, was composite and, as such, resembled the culture of intellectuals everywhere: "By becoming intellectuals, they participate in a tradition which transcends their local culture." This does not rule out their being "quite firmly rooted in India, in its past and in its present. By 'rooted' I mean possessing within themselves, and accepting, important elements of its traditions and its present life."⁹³ So it seemed to be with Har Dayal. He found, in fact, that his very Indian-ness gave him an entrée into intellectual circles which he might not otherwise have had and to this end he was willing to accentuate what Westerners considered the eccentricities of his cultural background.

Har Dayal wanted to use the various Western ideas to which he had been exposed to solve some of India's most serious problems; and, unlike many intellectuals and social reformers of his day, he wasted no time in attacking deep-rooted superstitions nor in urging the discontinuance of Hindu practices especially repugnant to the West, such as the immolation of widows or child marriage. Har Dayal seemed to be able to stand back and look at his mother culture dispassionately and objectively and to urge acceptance of his surprisingly incisive analyses of those aspects of the Indian way of life which had led to acceptance of British suzerainty and which now stood in the way of the nation's transformation from a traditional to a modern society and, with this, liberation from alien cultural control. He was more concerned with getting at the source of India's maladjustment in anachronistic terms than with the manifestations it produced. Unlike Gandhi, he saw industrialization and the adoption of Western techniques and political institutions as an acceptable — more than that, an imperative — focus of Indian attention and outlined those forces which could provide not only leadership but mass participation in a movement to bring India into line with the rest of the world.

Dr. Paul S. Reinsch, an American scholar, writing in the *Atlantic Monthly* in 1910, saw the dichotomy of East and West as a dichotomy between what Indians were learning from the West and what they needed to know to solve their country's problems. He, as did Har Dayal, saw the irony of imposing on young Indians a Western "literary" education in

the face of the social and economic problems which they would confront when they returned to their native land. According to Reinsch's analysis of the Indian intellectual at that time, Har Dayal was unique in urging, for example, the study of sociology. His peers had used their literary educations as stepping stones to legal training or government preferment or through this education to become familiar with political theory which seemed to support their ideas of "equality" and "freedom," without analyzing the social and economic climate in which this political theory had developed. Reinsch also called attention to the lack of communication between the intellectuals and the masses of the Indian people: "The intellectual leaders are not fully understood by their own people; in other words, those whose intellectual powers entitle them to leadership have received from their education little assistance toward making such leadership effective. The intimate ideas, images, and notions that appeal to the Indian masses are derived from the Vedas, the Puranas, Kalidasa, not from Burke, Hume, and J. S. Mill."⁹⁴

In his political writings, Har Dayal showed that he was keenly conscious of this fact, as perceptive, in fact, as Gandhi. And in sitting at the cobbler's last he joined the Mahatma who, at his Phoenix Colony in South Africa, also took up the shoemaker's trade, considered by caste Hindus one of the most defiling occupations. If there was a dichotomy in Har Dayal's life, it was not the result of East-West tensions, but of his preoccupation with finding a satisfactory philosophical statement while, at the same time, actively participating in the revolutionary movement. It was in San Francisco that he put his political theories and techniques to work.

GHADR: 4 THE POLITICAL MISSION

BY THE END OF 1912, Har Dayal was a figure to be reckoned with, as well known in Washington as he had been in official circles in London, Delhi, Calcutta, and Simla. His literary production had made him one of the most "avidly" read young Indians of his time. He also wrote for publication in the United States but with less success. He was apparently turned down by the venerable *Atlantic Monthly* as routine surveillance of his mail indicates the return of bulky envelopes.¹

Wherever Har Dayal went, he was excitement. His energy and enthusiasm seemed inexhaustible, and the variety of his interests and commitments left both Indian informers and British agents bewildered and worn out. He had come to California ostensibly to help his oppressed fellow countrymen but in his first year there he did little more than extol their simple virtues. The publicity he engendered in other areas, however, made him a big man to the expatriate peasants and farmers, one of whom soon got in touch with him. This was Jawala Singh.

GURU GOVIND SINGH SCHOLARSHIPS

The Sikhs in the Stockton area were relatively prosperous and had built themselves a *Gurdwara*, a temple. Jawala Singh was one of their leaders and a patriot who wanted to donate some money for the support of students from India. He consulted with Har Dayal who, by now, was not as enthusiastic about the Indian students he had met as he had been earlier. They were, he told Singh, indifferent and would always need money and "will just stay here and do nothing for their country." He said that outstanding graduates should be encouraged to come to the University of California. Jawala Singh was impressed with Har Dayal so he established the Guru Govind Singh scholarships.

This is the story as Gobind Behari Lal tells it. A cousin of Har Dayal's wife Sundar, Lal was himself a scholarship winner. The competition, he said, was publicized all over India, and about six hundred graduates

applied. University of California President Benjamin Arthur Wheeler accepted the arrangement, and a selection committee headed by Dr. Arthur Upham Pope was set up. The Indian members were Har Dayal; Tarak Nath Das, who had been active in Indian nationalist activities in Canada and who was credited with distributing the bomb manual on the North American continent;² and Teja Singh, the one who had purportedly urged Har Dayal to settle in California. Lal described Teja Singh as a Sikh teacher from Amritsar who, with his wife, wandered around Canada and the United States: "He was something of a religious fanatic but he was interested not only in religious conversion, but in making life easier for the peasant." Jawala Singh, as donor, was an *ex-officio* member of the committee.

The applications were screened, and six young men were chosen: Nand Singh, a Sikh from the Khalsa College in Amritsar; U. R. Kokutnur, Poona, a graduate of the University of Bombay; S. Sharma, with a law degree from Madras; a Muslim named Mahmud from the Anglo-Oriental College at Alighrah; H. E. Pandey (more often called Pandion), an Indian Christian, also from Madras, and Lal. All were interested in careers which followed Har Dayal's ideas of modern India's needs: engineering, science, pharmacy, political science, and the like.

The candidates arrived in Berkeley in the summer of 1912. They had come at their own expense but with the assurance that the scholarship would provide for their tuition, books, food, and lodging, plus a stipend of \$50 per month. Their return passage would also be provided. Lal was the only one who was not surprised to discover on arrival that there was little or no money to fund the project. Har Dayal had written him that things were "shaky" and that the financial arrangements for the scholarships had seemingly broken down. "He said that if I hadn't started, I should not come," Lal recalls. "But his letter did not reach me until I had arrived in Japan." From Japan, Lal wrote again and Har Dayal answered that as long as he had gotten that far, he might as well come along. When the six arrived, they found that a house had been provided for them and that they would all stay together living as if in a hostel. Nobody felt any bitterness towards Jawala Singh. Lal said, "He was depending on a potato crop and the price of potatoes went down. Poor fellow, he was sunk." Fortunately, the young men had some funds of their own to fall back on, so they enrolled as students at Berkeley.

Har Dayal always denied that he was a "trustee" of the fund, saying that his main role was to advise and to criticize. In any case, the house at Berkeley provided Har Dayal with a base of operations. Lal commented that since he had not accepted any money for his teaching at Stanford, Har Dayal was always short of funds. "He was a brilliant person and peo-

ple loved him. He must have stayed with friends." At that time, Lal said, he was associating almost exclusively with Americans and had little contact with Indians. Throughout that fall of 1912 he continued his pattern of lecturing on radical subjects and was engrossed in the formation of his Fraternity of the Red Flag.

POLITICAL HOPE

A crucial event which occurred in the waning days of 1912 thrust Har Dayal back into nationalist activities. This was the assassination attempt on the viceroy, Lord Hardinge. Although he had been gone from India for more than four years, Har Dayal "somehow knew that he would be implicated," said Gobind Behari Lal, "but don't ask me how he knew because I don't know. I can just guess." Actually, he continued, they knew nothing more than they had read in the newspaper accounts. "We didn't know who threw the bomb, although Har Dayal claimed that one of 'our boys' — he called them that — had done it." By that, Lal explained, Har Dayal meant one of the young men with whom he had been associated in India in 1908, one of his "disciples." "We didn't know then that Master Amir Chand was the prime suspect," Lal continued. "It all came out more than a year later that the police had some of Har Dayal's letters to Amir Chand, but we didn't know it then. Har Dayal knew what letters he had written, and I guess he also knew they would fall into the hands of the police." In any case, Lal said this was a turning point in Har Dayal's life: "He knew that he could never go back to India. Now he must do everything he could from abroad."

Things had been relatively quiet in India for an unusually long time, primarily as the result of the suppressive measures applied by the British, which had resulted in the rounding up of most of the suspected agitators and extremist leaders. Those who had escaped imprisonment or transportation had apparently lost heart and had turned their energies elsewhere — notably Aurobindo Ghose in Pondicherry and Har Dayal in America. Toward the end of the previous year, Lord Robert Crewe had replaced John Morley as secretary of state for India, and Lord Charles Hardinge became viceroy, succeeding Lord Minto. Both of the new appointees felt that the unrest in India had been due chiefly to the partition of Bengal which, when it was announced in 1905, gave rise to the *swadeshi* and boycott movements and the formation of the so-called extremist, or nationalist party, headed by Tilak. Once the decision had been reached to abrogate Lord Curzon's partition decree, it was agreed that the announcement would be made in connection with the visit of George V and Mary to India, where George was crowned emperor of India at an impressive durbar in Delhi on December 12, 1911. In his royal message,

George indicated that certain boons were forthcoming, notably the annulment of the partition order and the transfer of the capital from Calcutta to the ancient seat of Mughal power, Delhi. By some, the annulment was seen as a "gesture to Hindu sentiment," and the transfer of the capital, "a concession to Muslim feeling."³

A year later, on December 23, 1912, Lord Hardinge, implementing the provision for the transfer of the capital, was in the process of entering Delhi in a triumphant procession when a bomb was thrown, striking the elephant on which the viceroy was riding. The view from the top of the howdah was immortalized in the viceroy's memoirs. He had had a presentiment of evil, he had told his wife, but she had simply turned away his fears in wifely fashion by saying that he was not only tired but disliked ceremonial. "Nevertheless," he said, I persisted in my statement:

A few moments later the procession entered the Chandni Chowk, the principal street of Delhi, which was packed with people, and I was greeted with the greatest enthusiasm, the cheering being quite deafening. I had not proceeded more than about 300 yards before there was a shattering explosion. My elephant stopped. There was dead silence. My helmet was on the road. I glanced at my wife, saw at once that she was all right, turned to look at the back of the howdah where I saw some yellow powder and remarked, "I am afraid that was a bomb." My wife asked me if I was hurt and I replied that I felt as though somebody had hit me very hard in the back and had poured boiling water over me. The Chief of Police handed up my helmet on the top of a lance and asked for orders. I said the procession was to proceed as before. Wild cheering broke out on all sides, but when the procession had gone a short distance my wife looking behind saw that I was badly wounded and that the servant who had been standing behind me holding the State umbrella was dead and that his body was entangled in the ropes of the howdah. She told me about the dead man and I stopped the elephant at once. While the poor man's body was being removed I fainted from loss of blood and on recovering consciousness found myself lying on the pavement and receiving first aid. I heard afterwards that the elephant had been too frightened by the bomb to kneel, and it had been necessary to pile up wooden cases and that my A. D. C., Hugh Fraser, had lifted me down like a baby. He was a very strong man. I gave orders that everything was to be carried out as arranged . . .⁴

The viceroy neglected to mention that a young boy in the crowd was also killed. The revolutionaries were disappointed that they had missed the mark but considered the incident something of a triumph in view of the elaborate security measures which had been taken by the police. One account has it that the route was guarded by 565 armed and uniformed police officers, inspectors, and constables, mounted and unmounted, a troop of lancers and 2,500 plain-clothes men.⁵

The attempt had taken place on December 23, but it was not until Christmas day that the word was received in Berkeley. "We were having dinner that night for all of the Indian students so we turned it into a big celebration," said Lal. When news of the bombing attempt was circulated, the students shouted, danced, and sang "Bande Mataram." Har Dayal, at his most eloquent, was the principal speaker. He concluded his stirring remarks by quoting a well-known line from the work of the great Urdu poet, Mir: "*Pagri apni sambhaliyeago . . . ! Aur basti nahin, yeh Dilli hai!*" Roughly translated, this means "Watch your step! This is not just any town, this is Delhi!"

Har Dayal followed this up with a written salute to the bomb thrower, which he mailed to Shyamaji Krishnavarma in Paris for publication.⁶ He entitled the circular, *Yugantar (New Era)*, again calling into being the masthead of a proscribed Bengali journal. The publication was prohibited from circulation in India under the Sea Customs Act and proscribed under the Indian Press Act. In spite of this, it had a modest international circulation. Of the bomb-thrower, Har Dayal said, "He came like a blessing to oft-repeated sighs and yearnings. He awakened us from sleep — he flashed a dazzling light before our dipping eyelids." The exploding of the bomb was the only voice heard in an India that was "dumb with fear." He who threw the bomb was "alone among cowards and slave" and showed that "the race of man has not died out in India. With the sound of the thunder-bolt, said Har Dayal, he had "given forth the triumphant cry of freedom on the soil of Hindusthan: Where the tyrant is, there am I also, O people of India. And the bomb is the tongue of fire that uttereth my word."⁷ How much of this was from conviction or from diatribe is difficult to know. For a man who consistently denied that he extolled the virtues of violence as expressed in individual acts of vengeance or reprisal, it represented the new direction which Har Dayal's future propaganda was to take.

The Berkeley dinner celebrating the assassination attempt attracted considerable attention in British circles, and Canadian officials arranged to send one of their best men, William C. Hopkinson, to the Bay Area on temporary assignment to check on alleged "seditious" activity there. Hopkinson, who had served in the Calcutta police force and who spoke Hindi fluently, arrived in San Francisco on January 8, 1913. The next day he called on the British Consul-General, Andrew Carnegie Ross, who gave him the names of Indian students at Berkeley who had either already informed on Har Dayal's activities or who were willing to do so, including the scholarship winner, Henry Edward Pandion. Hopkinson also arranged with the consul-general to take possession of all his papers should he "come to harm." He had already taken the precaution of registering in a hotel under an assumed name. Hopkinson presented his credentials to United

States immigration officials at Angel Island, who assured him that they would be happy to "effect the deportation of some of the Hindu agitators" if sufficient evidence were produced. He then called on the special agent of the United States Department of Justice in San Francisco and, through him, arranged for a register of all mail handled by the Berkeley Post Office either coming from or going to India. On his own, Hopkinson made contact with Swami Trigunatia at the San Francisco Hindu temple. He had been one of those singled out for his integrity by Har Dayal in his article, "India in America," but the swami seemed happy to cooperate with Hopkinson and confirmed that Har Dayal "had practically assumed charge of the students devoted to the cause in India." From the swami and the student informers, Hopkinson received a full account of "the feast and jollification" of Christmas past and duly cabled his findings to his superiors in Ottawa and followed with a detailed letter report.⁸

As disturbed as Hopkinson was by Har Dayal's joy at the attempted assassination of the viceroy, he still needed more than his own concerns to pass along to the U. S. immigration officials. He reported that evidence that Har Dayal was an anarchist should do the trick, so he decided to attend Har Dayal's various public addresses. The first one he attended, on January 18, was held at the Industrial Workers of the World hall. There Hopkinson found himself at a loss to describe what was going on, so surrounded was he by talk of "socialism, anarchism, and all matters pertaining to political agitation." He said that he was given to believe that Har Dayal was the secretary of the San Francisco branch of this international organization and that when Har Dayal entered the hall he was hailed "with great applause as the leading Indian reformer and a Saviour of the downtrodden Indian people." Har Dayal spoke on the unrest and agitation in India, of the political methods used by various nationalist leaders, and the oppressive counteraction on the part of the British. It was his own plan, Har Dayal said, to establish an association based on I. W. W. principles for "the benefit and uplifting" of the people of India. Since the theme of Har Dayal's speech was familiar to him, Hopkinson left before its conclusion for the reason that "the surroundings were composed of a very questionable class of humanity," the hall being located in the "toughest" part of San Francisco.⁹

This rather traumatic brush with the workers of the world did not provide Hopkinson with the evidence he was seeking, but the next lecture he attended was more productive of results. This was a speech Har Dayal made only five days later entitled, "The Revolutionary Labor Movement in France." The meeting was held in the Jefferson Square Hall — in a little better neighborhood — but its sponsorship was equally questionable. Hopkinson associated it with the Russian Revolutionary Society in

San Francisco. Har Dayal introduced himself by saying that although he had not been in the United States very long, he had carefully studied the revolutionary movement in America, to include socialist activities and the I. W. W. This latter, he characterized as bearing the closest resemblance to the Anarchist Society of France of which, he said, he was proud to be a member. But, by comparison with France, the revolutionary movement in the United States was only in its infancy. He called up the dangers and lessons to be learned from the French movement and in so doing said: "Love one another among the labouring-class, but hate, hate the rich."

This hatred should not go so far as terrorism and violence, though: the use of dynamite would do more harm than good to the Revolutionary cause unless it was aimed at "despots" who "tyrannized and oppressed the people"; in these cases "assassination was the best method of terminating this state of things." He called attention to the American flag which hung near the lecture platform and said he was not responsible for its being there as he did not believe in any government or flag, since a flag was only a "sign of slavery" and should be done away with. So went Hopkinson's report of the speech with the clincher being Har Dayal's statement that had he "declared himself truly" at the time of his landing in the United States, he would not then be addressing that audience.

According to Hopkinson, Har Dayal concluded his address by inviting anyone who was interested to attend the meetings of his Radical Study Club, "which he had inaugurated in San Francisco for the purpose of teaching the people Revolutionary Methods." He also solicited funds for the upkeep of the class. Hopkinson concluded his report by remarking: "Of all the Indian agitators who have visited the States and of all those whom I have a knowledge, I am led to believe that Har Dayal is the most dangerous. It is unfortunate that he should be located at Berkeley among the Indian students attending the University of California, as a man of his knowledge and influence and declared Anarchistic tendencies, is bound to wield a great influence on the young boys at the University. No doubt there is, at the present time an effort being made by some of the students to separate themselves from Har Dayal's followers; but, time alone can show the ultimate effect of this."¹⁰

RELATIONSHIP WITH STUDENTS

It seems to be questionable as to just how active Indian students were in nationalist activities before Har Dayal arrived on the scene. Valentine Chirol, writing in the *Times* of London in 1910, mostly viewed with alarm, characterizing, for example, the Young India Association as devoted "chiefly to the study of explosives and to smuggling arms into India." Actually, it seems to have been relatively conservative in its outlook and opera-

tions. The other student-based organization which he discussed actually had no campus connections. He was correct, though, in saying that American organizations (to include both Canada and the United States) were in frequent communication with what the British called the "seditious press" in India and maintained contact with counterpart organizations in the homeland.¹¹ More recently, Arun Coomer Bose has gone into the matter in a more scholarly manner and concluded that the Indian students in the United States lacked effective leadership and financial support, and even when they were provided with both by sympathetic Americans they were apathetic and disinterested: "the Indian students, coming from well-to-do families and looking forward to promising futures were poor revolutionary potentials."¹²

Har Dayal apparently found this to be the case on the Berkeley campus as well, having told Jawala Singh that the only way to advance the education of "patriots" was to import some from India. Prior to their arrival, however, Har Dayal, as Gobind Behari Lal indicated, concerned himself primarily with faculty members on the Berkeley campus, not students. It was not until after the scholarship selectees had arrived that he had any significant contact with students, and this was patently because of his association with his wife's kinsman, Gobind Behari Lal. "I provided him the footing," said Lal — and the audience, it might be added.

After his smashing success at the dinner celebrating the Hardinge assassination attempt, Har Dayal did move into student circles on the California campus. Perhaps as an antidote to his extremist posture, a group of the more moderately inclined Hindus decided to organize a branch of the Young India Association. They had previously been loosely held together in a social and cultural organization called the Nalanda Club, named after a famous Indian seat of learning (actually, Buddhist). The inaugural meeting of what was now to be a political body was held in early January with Henry Morse Stephens as principal speaker. Professor Stephens was generally considered to be sympathetic to Indian nationalist aims. He had lived in India, edited a magazine about it, and was held to be knowledgeable about the situation there. From the conflicting accounts of informers and dissenters,¹³ it is difficult to determine exactly what happened beyond the fact that Professor Stephens's comment that independence could never be gained by anarchy and bomb-throwing brought a storm of protest from Har Dayal and his followers, who, however, were not allowed to express their views. The meeting dissolved; the Berkeley branch of the Young India Association was never inaugurated.

A week later, cards were passed around announcing a meeting to answer Professor Stephens's "defense of the English Government in India." This was apparently to be a meeting of the Hindu National Association —

described by one loyal Hindu as "a group of associate anarchists threatening the peace of the Empire." Hopkinson was more factual in his report that it was a national organization with its headquarters in Chicago and had done little more than present resolutions to the Indian National Congress. Har Dayal was cited as the Pacific Coast secretary of the organization, which had taken no part in campus activities previously. After the fiasco of the attempt by moderates to organize, and before Professor Stephens was answered by the Hindu National Association in its scheduled meeting, Har Dayal appeared in the columns of the university's student newspaper as the author of an article entitled, "The Hindu National Movement." Among other things, he said that the British had conquered India "by pursuing a policy of cunning and bribery, supplemented by frequent resort to brute force." He then discussed the British tax policy in India and quoted Lord Salisbury (a recent prime minister) as having said, "India must be bled." He attacked Britain's administration of justice in India, its neglect of education and public sanitation, and "the barbarous punishment inflicted on patriotic public men for 'sedition,'" and concluded by saying: "Empires are relics of barbarism, and must disappear in the course of social evolution."¹⁴

When the meeting to answer Professor Stephens was finally held, it was a lively occasion, with Hindu undergraduates parading around the platform "striking figurative and literal fists" at the well-meaning historian. They were quieted down, however, and Professor Fritz-Konrad Kruger, a political scientist who had been selected to chair the session, took a neutral stance and asked the audience to judge the question after hearing the other side. Tarak Nath Das was one of those chosen to refute Professor Stephens. Others speaking were an American socialist — a Mr. Cairnes — and Gobind Behari Lal. Har Dayal summarized by once again emphasizing Britain's economic policies in regard to India and stating the famine, plague, and cholera were all due to the oppressive British government.¹⁵

If anything, this meeting widened the breach between the sixteen men who called themselves "loyalists" and those who were willing to follow Har Dayal's leadership. By this time, Pandion was reporting regularly to Hopkinson and had even provided him with copies of "seditious literature" found on the premises where the Guru Govind Singh scholars resided. Kokutnur had declared himself a bitter opponent of Har Dayal, and he and Pandion, with a third of the original six scholarship winners, Sharma, had moved into separate quarters. This was not an unexpected development, according to Gobind Behari Lal, who said that Har Dayal, with all of his writings against traditional Indian religion and philosophy had already alienated the orthodox, who retreated into the Nalanda Club and let the Hindu National Association be political. How long this association

had been active before informers called it to the attention of Hopkinson is not known. It was apparently one of the many loosely organized branches of this allegedly national association and was based locally in Oakland, rather than Berkeley. By contrast with the 16 loyalists, as of the end of January 1913 there were 70 known and named members of the Hindu National Association, few of whom were students.¹⁶ This organization, however, was soon to dissolve into another and more tightly organized group involving most of the metropolitan centers of northern California and the Pacific Northwest.

KHANKHOJE AND THE MILITARY BENT

Har Dayal is most often credited with organizing the Indians on the West Coast and stirring them to revolutionary action in what came to be known as the *Ghadr* movement. *Ghadr* is commonly translated as "mutiny" and was the name given to the newspaper edited and published by Har Dayal in the name of the Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast, founded in May of 1913. In a short time this association gave rise to the Ghadr Party, which, however, was not the first or the only nationalist organization on the West Coast to espouse revolutionary activity in India.

One of the most interesting figures on the roster of the earlier Hindu National Association was Pandurang Sadashiva Khankhoje, still a young man but already a veteran in West Coast nationalist activities. He had been a protégé of Tilak, who had encouraged the youth to get military training outside of India. Khankhoje went first to Japan, where he was advised that the Anglo-Japanese Alliance precluded an Indian learning modern methods of warfare in that country. He then continued on to California, arriving there in 1908. He joined Indian students in Berkeley, but they discouraged his military ambitions, saying that it would be impossible to get such training in the United States. The Berkeley students were wrong: Khankhoje enrolled in a West Coast military academy where he was stunned to discover that technology, with chemicals and weapons developed on principles of modern science, had put warfare beyond the scope of the untutored and unskilled Indians. He did find the books on discipline, quick action, and secrecy to be of some value.

Khankhoje had hoped to continue his education at West Point, but discovered that appointment to the United States Military Academy was limited to citizens of the United States. He was further frustrated when his application for citizenship was turned down. But by this time, Khankhoje was consoled by the conclusion that it would be quite impossible for Indian revolutionaries to equip themselves with modern armament and that any further education in military science was useless in the face of the fact

that the revolutionaries had, as yet, no army. Further, he had become convinced, he said, that a revolution depended on mass support: "Without securing this mass support, no revolutionary movement would succeed. I, therefore, decided that with what I had acquired, I would be able to do much in India."

With his diploma from the military academy in his pocket, Khankhoje founded the Indian Independence League in California. Since the organization was not overwhelmed by membership, he moved to Portland, Oregon. Here he met Pandit Kanshiram, a wealthy entrepreneur in the lumber labor market, who provided the funds for Khankhoje's organization and served as its treasurer. Membership soon jumped to 500. Increased enrollment was stimulated by the vigilance of U. S. immigration officials in 1909, and Indians hoped for relief in concerted action. Political pressure did not interest Khankhoje, but he found an outlet for his military proclivities by devising ways and means to bring Indians into the United States via Mexico and Canada. This also helped to swell the rolls of his organization. In this activity he met at least one soulmate who was to play a significant revolutionary role in India at a later date: Vishnu Ganesh Pingale, an engineering student in Portland. After meeting Khankhoje, he spent less and less time on his studies. Fascinated by the idea of raising a revolutionary army, Pingale even considered using Mexico as a training ground for troops to be recruited from Indians in Oregon and California. The plan never materialized.¹⁷

Khankhoje drifted back to the Bay Area as the focus of the India Independence League was diverted from revolutionary activities in India in the future to the immediate problems caused by immigration barriers being raised by both the United States and Canadian authorities.

In May of 1910, Canada had passed formal legislation requiring that any Indian immigrant coming to the dominion must arrive as the result of an unbroken voyage from an Indian port (no steamship company provided such service) and that he must have with him a minimum of \$200. This was the situation when Har Dayal arrived in the United States, but he had then ignored invitations to lead the immigrant Indians on the West Coast in their fight against oppressive legislation. By his own admission, he had been caught up in the labor movement and the social revolution, so Indian nationalist politics and even his preoccupation with Buddhism had been almost forgotten.¹⁸

The Hardinge attempt thrust him back on the revolutionary stage. He now saw in the peasants, farmers, and mill workers the mass support the nationalist movement needed. There were more than 6,000 East Indians in the United States of whom more than half were in California, Washing-

ton and Oregon. Besides, there was money to be solicited for support of a propaganda program. Pandit Kanshiram and others in Oregon, in the early part of 1913, invited him to join them in organizing a new association to supplant the now-moribund India Independence League and to bring together other similar organizations. Har Dayal put them off until May. In the meantime, he was still active in the Radical Club, the I. W. W., and in his own Fraternity of the Red Flag.

He was coming to see, though, what could be done. Essentially, according to Gobind Behari Lal, he was going to tell the dissident immigrants that they were wasting their time trying to get a hearing in either the United States or Canada because the British were their real enemies and would block any such moves. This was a tack that would appeal, since most of the Indians now realized that while the Chinese and Japanese governments had gone to bat for their oppressed nationals, the British government of India had seemed to support, rather than condemn, any action that would curtail immigration. The mood had changed. The stage was set for Har Dayal.

THE HINDU ASSOCIATION OF THE PACIFIC COAST

There are a variety of accounts of the organization of the Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast citing different dates and different locations,¹⁹ but official records tend to substantiate that the meeting at which the organization took form was held at Portland, Oregon, toward the end of May, 1913, with Har Dayal presiding. It was at this time that it was agreed that the association would sponsor the publication of a revolutionary newspaper and that funds would be solicited for this end. Traveling secretaries were also named who would move through communities where there were significant numbers of immigrant Indians to form local units.

Hopkinson, who had left San Francisco in February and gone to London on other business, had reported in person to the India Office on Har Dayal's activities,²⁰ and had then returned to his post in Vancouver, retaining a watchful eye on Har Dayal in particular and the student situation in Berkeley, generally. He reentered the United States when he heard that Har Dayal was not only engaged in a speaking tour which would carry him through Oregon and Washington, but that he was acting at the same time as an advance agent for the notorious anarchist Emma Goldman. This last was an unwarranted assumption on the part of one of Hopkinson's informers in San Francisco, who had gone to elaborate lengths to link Har Dayal with Emma Goldman, only to find that Har Dayal was in Portland when Miss Goldman was speaking in San Francisco.²¹ The two did meet once, and while each admired the other, they had not worked

together on any occasion.²² Hopkinson apparently knew nothing of the Portland meeting. His concern was with a speech Har Dayal had given in Astoria, Oregon, on June 4, which had not only been covered by a British agent, but by the *Astorian*. Both accounts are substantially the same,²³ although the agent's notes ignored Har Dayal's introduction in which he said, "India is a land of mystery and romance, of unequalled charm and historical interest. The Hindus were the pioneers of Aryan civilization. Hindu literature and philosophy have attracted the best minds of many countries during many centuries. More than half the population of the globe professes creeds that originated in India. India is the holy land of Japan and China. Her claim on the civilized world is immense." And perhaps because his audience was American, he added, "The discovery of America was only a fortunate mistake made by Columbus, who really wished to discover the route to India."

The speech was by-now-standardized diatribe, the indictment of British administration of India which resulted, Har Dayal said, in \$200 million being taken out of the country annually. As for the tax money which was retained in India, one third was spent on "bandits called the Civil Service magistrates," and most of what was left to support an army which produced "unrest and imperialism." He also said that India could meet every test qualifying it for self-government and asked that she be helped to realize her destiny in her struggle to be free. The remainder of the speech centered on British suppression of nationalist aspirations and was a repetition of much that he had said before. The newspaper account described Har Dayal as "an interesting and intelligent speaker" and said that "his description of India and her people held the attention of a good-sized audience for over an hour." A few days later an editorial in the paper suggested that there might be another point of view:

The Hindu lecturer . . . certainly talked very plainly of people and conditions in the East Indian empire and lambasted the English government to the quick; nor is there good reason to doubt that from his viewpoint most of what he said is true, yet there is still another side to the coin of history and the world at large is not likely to forget what the British have done for the civilization of India, nor what she has paid for the graceless task of governing there, in blood and treasure and sacrifice generally. It takes two tellings to complete the true tales of civilization.²⁴

This rather balanced view probably did not penetrate to the ranks of the Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast. Har Dayal continued for several weeks to speak in the same anti-British vein and returned to San Francisco armed with pledges of funds and assured of support for his

projected publishing venture. *Ghadr* was formally launched in mid-October, according to Gobind Behari Lal, although the first publication did not appear until November 1.

GHADR

Har Dayal's Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast was an uneasy coalition between Hindu intellectuals and Sikh farmers, peasants, and lumber mill workers. This does not mean that there were not both Muslims and Hindus of the lower classes who were members, but the Sikhs were in the majority and provided most of the financial support to the organization and its proposed program. Khushwant Singh, who has written a history of the Sikhs — and of the *Ghadr* movement — calls attention to this dichotomy after he tells of the various earlier attempts of the Sikh immigrants to organize through their *Khalsa Diwan* Society (Sikh governing body) and their network of Sikh temples and committees. They had hoped for redress of their grievances by working through constitutional channels — much as did the moderates in their homeland. Since many of them were ex-soldiers or policemen, says Singh, “their loyalty to the British Crown was an article of faith.” When petitions, memoranda, and pleading by delegates failed to achieve results, he continues, “they were persuaded to lend ear to more radical counsel,” especially that of Har Dayal, “who was able to persuade the immigrants to give up appealing to Christian sentiment and sending petitions to the English royal family, viceroys, prime ministers and governors.”

According to Singh, the effective control of the Indian immigrant community was in the hands of the largely illiterate Sikh laboring class who, however, had to have spokesmen who could communicate in English. Hence men like Har Dayal, Gobind Behari Lal, and Tarak Nath Das were essential to them. This “dual leadership” as Singh calls it, made friction inevitable. “The Sikhs looked down upon the Hindus as English-knowing *Babus* and expected them to do as they were told. The Hindus treated the Sikhs with the contempt a lawyer treats his rustic clients from whom he draws money.”²⁵ For Khushwant Singh, it was the Sikhs who founded, directed, and supported the West Coast revolutionary movement known as *Ghadr*; for Gobind Behari Lal, it was the Hindus — specifically, himself and Har Dayal — plus one Sikh, Kartar Singh.

Lal refutes Khushwant Singh at almost every point in rather vehement terms, his most modest statement being, “What that fellow says is nonsense.” But there is sufficient evidence to indicate that the role of the Sikhs in the Hindu National Association cannot be discounted. For Lal, though, the *Ghadr* movement was launched at the time of the Hardinge assassination attempt, and there is no doubt that from that point on Har

Dayal resumed his revolutionary role and once more dominated the nationalist scene as an extremist leader. The British knew this, as the arrival of Hopkinson on the scene testifies. Lal says, however, that it was his own funds which actually set Ghadr in motion. This is the way he tells it:

Har Dayal knew that if he were implicated in the Hardinge bombing attempt we could not go back to India again so he said, "Let's start something here." He wanted to know if I would stick by him, and I told him that I would. Nobody else would. Not only that, but the Sikhs didn't want to support Har Dayal unless he could do something about the rights of Sikhs to remain in the United States and to own property. Some of the younger Sikhs were excited, but their excitement had originated with their concern about the Asiatic Exclusion Act. They were sold on that issue. But had it not been that we knew we could not go back, *Ghadr* would never have started. Bhai Parmanand did not want to get involved. He said not to start any movement and if any movement were started, not to call it Ghadr. We two — Har Dayal and I — were the only ones involved.

I had \$200 of my own. This is the money with which the Ghadr movement was founded. The first thing I did was to hold a dinner meeting in Berkeley at the Shattuck Hotel. I did this with my money. Har Dayal didn't have a dime. We invited the Americans who were sympathetic to the Indian cause. These were important people: Fremont Older; Carleton Parker and his wife — Cornelia Stratton Parker, the daughter of Frederick Smith Stratton, the prominent San Francisco attorney and legislator; Winston Churchill, who wrote *Inside the Cup*; Dr. Arthur Upham Pope and six other professors from the University of California; Austin Lewis, the lawyer and reformer, and two or three women who counted themselves as supporters of Har Dayal. This is how Ghadr was launched — at that dinner. The *Bulletin* reported this as a meeting of the Hindu National Association of California but this "association" was Har Dayal and me and Kartar Singh. This was when the Ghadr was launched.

After this, Kartar Singh went around among the farmers who invited us to give talks to them. Kartar Singh was a wonderful man. The first place we talked was near Davis. I made a talk, and Har Dayal gave a talk. We told them that it was no use to talk about the Asiatic Exclusion Act, immigration, and citizenship. They had to strike at the British because they were responsible for the way Indians were being treated in America. There was some response. They made donations. They wanted to know what they could do. So we suggested that they start a newspaper and that they call it *Ghadr*. They were very impressed that we did not just keep the money for ourselves. The long and short of it was that Har Dayal organized the committee; he gave them the idea, and we started very soon after that.

It was too soon, almost, to have gotten the first edition of the paper out within less than two weeks after the Berkeley dinner, held on that particular October day because it was the eighth anniversary of the partition of Bengal. John D. Barry was the principal speaker at the observation,

and Har Dayal also spoke, reiterating his characterization of the British government of India as "a predatory organization, maintained by coercion and terrorism."²⁶ Dr. Pope, when asked about this dinner later said that Har Dayal had spoken very bitterly: "I should say he said nothing as vicious as Theodore Roosevelt about President Wilson in the last campaign."²⁷

Gobind Behari Lal to the contrary, the evidence is overwhelming that organizational activities of the Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast had begun in May. He is probably right, however, in saying that the name of the proposed newspaper was not conceived until a later date and that the Berkeley dinner provided the necessary support from Americans which was needed to base the movement in San Francisco.

The Party and the Ashram

When he formed the Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast, Har Dayal was following the plan which he had conceived even before his resignation from Oxford and had elaborated in *Bande Mataram* as a result of his year as a political missionary in India. He did not build on the existing organization but set up a new one and continued to emphasize that propaganda was the first step to be taken in planning a revolutionary movement, only this time he had enlisted a base of support from among the masses. Har Dayal followed the organizational pattern which had been established by Vinayak Savarkar when he formed the Free India Society in England with a wide membership to serve as a recruiting institution for the more exclusive Abhinava Bharat, modeled on Mazzini's Young Italy. Members of this group were pledged to secrecy and a kind of discipline not required of the members of the Free India Society.

Similarly, Har Dayal's Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast was a widespread organization with unlimited membership. Its primary function was to provide a mailing list for the free distribution of revolutionary material and to raise funds for the support of publishing activities. Har Dayal instructed readers to forward their copies of any material to friends in India, especially to those still active in military service. On November 1, 1913, he announced the existence of the Ghadr party, to be composed of dedicated revolutionaries and hailed for their potential in the first issue of the newspaper, which appeared on that date. Within this "party," was an even more exclusive group: the *Yugantar Ashram*.

Har Dayal first revived the name of the proscribed Bengali newspaper, *Yugantar*, when he issued his pamphlet in praise of the perpetrators of the attempted assassination of Lord Hardinge. Again, Har Dayal used the name, "to show the English that the paper which had been published in India by that name was still alive. . . ."²⁸ The association, party, news-

paper, and ashram were all headquartered in San Francisco, split between two locations: 436 Hill Street and 1324 Valencia Street. Something of the complexity of the organization is shown by the recital of some of the rules, as attested by one of the members of the ashram:

The first rule was this, a man cannot be a member of the *Ghadr* Party unless he is recommended by the staff of the *Ghadr* Party, one or two men from among the staff. The second rule was this, if anybody worked less than six months in the *Ashram* he is not entitled to be told all the secrets or confidential business of the *Ashram*. The third rule was this, if anybody exposed these secrets or grafted money, he must be killed. Another rule: both sexes can become members of the *Ghadr* Party; and free marriages, that is, no marriages allowed by priests or any authority — free marriages, just like the socialists. Another rule was that the managing committee, the secretary and the president, could go outside and plead to the people the cause and collect money for the *Ashram*. Except to the secretary and editor, it is not allowed that anybody should see the mail. There were seventeen rules altogether, I think. The managing committee to select the secretary and president to go out and tell the people about their work and to collect money for the *Ashram*.²⁹

When the Ghadr party was formed, Baba Sohan Singh was elected president by a unanimous vote, and Har Dayal was elected secretary and editor of *Ghadr*. Har Dayal's "election" was more a ratification, since he had already put out the first issue of the newspaper. Even though there was a duly elected president of the party, Gobind Behari Lal said that it was "completely decided that only one man would be the front. He was to take all of the responsibility: publisher, editor, everything. This was an old trick in India, and Har Dayal was the man who played this role in the *Ghadr*. He took care of everything." The Sikhs, he contends, remained in the background at that time, and only Har Dayal and a few very devoted disciples — including himself — were active. "The British were not lying idle," says Lal. "Mr. Ross, the consul general in San Francisco was a very able man; he was a shrewd man and determined to fight. It was not until later on that it became a bigger movement."

Writing to Van Wyck Brooks in December 1913, Har Dayal said:

I have been very busy and happy lately, for we have extended and expanded our work in all directions. The Hindu laborers in California and Canada have subscribed about \$2000 for our revolutionary movement in India, and have thus been able to establish a press, an institute, two weekly papers, etc., in connection with our propaganda. The press prints about 1100 sheets an hour and we are printing tons of literature to smuggle into India. This work has taken up much of my time. Several earnest young men work in the press and institute without any thought of recompense. They are splendid fellows. The British government sends spies all

the time — which affords a revolutionist much amusement and relaxation in the otherwise intense and strenuous life.³⁰

Brooks was then teaching in England, and Har Dayal asked him to “lend helping hand in the way of influencing promising Hindu students in England and forwarding letters, etc. . . .” Brooks said that he did cooperate with Har Dayal by forwarding letters and packages of “literature.”³¹ Some went to Guy Aldred, who said that Har Dayal had written to him giving him “a report of his work on the Coast, especially among the Hindu working men there. Also among their compatriots in China. He was converting them at the rate of three to four hundred per week to the economic ideals of the Revolutionary Party of India — the Ghadr Party.”³² The number of converts claimed by Har Dayal may not be an exaggeration, judging from the number of Ghadr party members who were later willing to return to India to take part in an attempted armed revolution while the British were fighting the Germans in Europe.

Propaganda Program

The culmination of Har Dayal’s organizational activities on the West Coast was marked by the appearance of the first issue of *Ghadr*, the newspaper which was to carry the revolutionary message to India. According to translations made by the United States’ immigration authorities, the motto carried on the masthead was, “O, people of India, arise and take up your swords!”³³ This, said Har Dayal, was an “incorrect” translation: “It should be translated thus: ‘O, manly young men of India, take pains soon!’ ”³⁴

However watered down, the message seemed clear, as did the exhortation contained in the leading article, “Our Name and Our Work,” which explained in dramatic terms the purpose of the publication. In the process of introducing the newspaper to its readers, Har Dayal called on all the traditional images and figures of speech which both he and Savarkar had used in their European propaganda, including references to past events and “heroes,” and current nationalist figures of extremist stripe. After proclaiming that a new day had been born in the history of India, Har Dayal left no doubt as to why the paper had been named *Ghadr*: “Our name and work are identical.” Mutiny, he said, would break out, but, again, he was not specific as to when — “in a few years” — but the important thing was “to make preparations for this rising.”

After damning British rule, he turned his attention to the 1857 mutiny, “the very name of which makes the English shiver.” The deeds of the Indian heroes in this struggle “shine like a diamond ring on the finger of history,” he wrote. The fact that the mutiny was brought under control

Har Dayal attributed to "the absence of complete union." But had there not been a mutiny, the princely states would have been "swallowed up," and an attempt made to spread the Christian religion.

In answering a hypothetical question as to where he got the idea of establishing the paper in the United States, Har Dayal launched into a discussion of the nationalist movement from 1905 on, with an emphasis on extremist activities. The names he calls upon are those of Ajit Singh, Lajpat Rai, Hem Chandra Das (of bomb manual fame), Tilak, Aurobindo Ghose, Sufi Amba Prasad, Shyamaji Krishnavarma, and Mme. Cama. Perhaps because he was under detention, there was no mention of Savarkar and, while there was reference to the heroic stand of South African Indians who "could not tolerate living as a disgraced community," there was no mention of Gandhi. After extolling the work of the expatriates in Europe and the Middle East (Sufi Amba Prasad was then publishing similar propaganda in Persia), Har Dayal pointed out that "a band of the same army has arrived in America," where they found in California "a second free Punjab where they can talk openly to their brothers."

After discussing the operation of the Pacific Coast Hindu Association and *Yugantar Ashram*, identifying the ashram as "a fort where bombardment of English rule will be started," he said that the content of the newspapers would not be articles, "but the sayings of saints and heroes . . . messages of love," sayings destined to "convert sparrows into hawks," which "after purging the soul of avarice, greed, pride, fear and ignorance," will "prepare the country for the mutiny which will be the greatest of *yagas* [celebrations]." It was here that he called upon his readers to cooperate in the circulation of the newspaper by sending copies to friends and relatives in India after they had read it themselves, if they could read; if not, after they had found someone to read it to them. The concluding paragraph indicates that Har Dayal is moving toward the second stage of the plan he had outlined in Paris: "The time is soon to come when rifle and blood will be used for pen and ink. . . ."

Exhortation to action is the theme of a second article in the first number of *Ghadr*. Although this was signed, *Sewak* (a servant), it was undoubtedly the work of Har Dayal, who said that he was the author of all but a few articles which appeared in the newspaper until after the first of the year.³⁵ This one is entitled, "The Voice of India: India's Call to Young Men," and asks for sacrifice, revenge, and unity. As crude as this article seems in English (in some places almost unintelligible), it apparently sounded a ringing note in the original. Har Dayal wrote in Urdu, a language in which he was generally considered to excel: "He wrote such wonderful Urdu," said Gobind Behari Lal in speaking of his kinsman's articles in *Ghadr*. Much of Har Dayal's artistry is lost in the government

translations; so much, in fact, that Har Dayal was moved to "insist on furnishing my own translations because I know my language well and have a tolerably good knowledge of the English language and foreigners cannot really translate from Oriental languages."³⁶ Earlier he had remarked that Indian literature was safer in the hands of foreign, than native, translators, but in the case of the *Ghadr* translations, Har Dayal was undoubtedly right.

Aware of the power of poetry, Har Dayal was lavish with its use, and the columns of *Ghadr* resounded with stirring verse. It was here that he was sensitive to his audience and courted the expression of the peasants as well as the educated few. They were encouraged to dictate the songs and poems they composed to the literate members of the *Ghadr* staff, who would put their work in written form. Less than six months after the first issue of *Ghadr* appeared, the *Yugantar Ashram* published its first volume of poetry, *Ghadr-ki-Ganj, Echo of Mutiny*. Six thousand copies were printed in Urdu and the same number in Gurmukhi (a script devised by the founder of the Sikh religion, and the script in which Punjabi is written).

The poetry was certainly stronger than the prose; perhaps that is why it was selected for wider distribution. In one of these poems spies were the chief concern, but the problem of dealing with traitors and informers was made more explicit in prose. In the November 29, 1913 issue of *Ghadr*, for example, there was a warning, followed by direct advice: "In your way there will be some traitors who will do their best to hinder you. They are the wolves of the English Government. Arrangements should be made to fix these men first."

In addition to expressing concern about traitors in the ranks, Har Dayal continued to urge the harassment of the British government and reiterated his basic program: "First we have to make a party. This party will be composed of those ready for mutiny. They will print newspapers and write books, and will arrange to give lectures. . . ." Reminiscent of Khankhoje, Har Dayal said of the people of India, "They will send the young generation to Military Schools," and also suggested that some be "sent to schools of other nations to learn how to govern." With these preparations, he concluded, "the mutiny will not be long delayed." He went no further in indicating when the time to arise would come; a nebulous future date continued to be the theme: "We cannot tell when the mutiny will break out, but we can go on doing our share of the work." Har Dayal compared the acts of terrorists in India to the acts of Russian revolutionists, pointing out that the Russians had seen to it that "accidents" befell "bad officers" and had been carrying on their work since 1881. Similarly, the bomb-makers and bomb-throwers in India, Har Dayal said, "have kept the heart of the government in its mouth."

In one of his few articles that mentioned Muslims (December 23, 1913), Har Dayal called attention to the growing numbers entering the *Ghadr* party. He made no effort in this, or in any of his *Ghadr* writings to support his statements but seemed satisfied that his hyperbolic generalizations would produce the desired effect. There were probably few among his readers who would challenge him, since he expressed with eloquence and vehemence their hatred of British rule. Capable not only of rhetorical involution, Har Dayal was also the master of the trenchant and incisive phrase. In the masthead of *Ghadr*, the paper was straightforwardly identified as "The Enemy of the English Race."

The British were less enthusiastic about the publication than the subscribers. Sir Charles Tegart said of *Ghadr* that it "played on every conceivable passion which it could excite, preaching murder and mutiny in every sentence and urging all Indians to go to India with the express object of committing murder, causing revolution and expelling the British government by any and every means. It circulated with deadly effect among the Sikh immigrants. . . ."37

In his preoccupation with *Ghadr*, Har Dayal had not forgotten the incident which had touched everything off. On the first anniversary of the Lord Hardinge assassination attempt, he published a commemorative pamphlet written in Urdu and entitled, *Shabash! (Well Done! or Bravo!)* This production came to light when a shipment to Mme. Cama in Paris was opened in her presence by French customs officials. She had probably been told what to expect so refused delivery. Each of the one thousand copies of the pamphlet in the shipment was in an already-addressed envelope and Mme. Cama was to have sent them on to London for posting.

British Criminal Investigation Department inspectors were puzzled as to why such great importance should have been attached to posting copies of *Shabash!* from England, when *Ghadr* was sent directly to individuals in India from the United States. The pamphlet was hastily translated and declared "frankly anarchial as well as revolutionary." The cover depicted "the tree of liberty growing out of a pair of bombs" and the price per copy was an Englishman's head. *Shabash!* was duly proscribed, although authorities believed that no copy of it ever reached India. This precaution was taken lest direct shipments be made when it was learned that the transmission belt had broken down with Mme. Cama's refusal to accept the pamphlets. Had she done so she would have been subject to a heavy fine.

Shabash!, an 8,000-word document, was in three sections under the following headings: "The Philosophy of the Bomb," "The Bomb: A Useful Weapon," and "The Praise of the Bomb." One of the opening remarks was that members of the Congress Party — Gokhale and Lajpat

Rai were called by name — were “undignified cowards misleading the nation.” The point is then made that because of the bomb, the British in India lived in mortal terror and when the viceroy — “that Ali Baba of thieves” -- goes on tour, branches of trees on the roads are cut off so that a “message of death” could not be delivered from sheltering leaves. Oppression, the pamphlet goes on to say, can only be suppressed by punishing the tyrants who rule: “It is, therefore, necessary to continue to kill, wound and disgrace the rulers with bombs, guns, clubs, shoes, bricks, stones, fists and slaps.” The familiar exhortations to manliness and sacrifice are there, plus the call to suborn the troops. The use of the bomb and assassination in “civilized” countries is discussed, and the whole thing concludes with the assurance that violence will produce results. Not only would the British administrators respond, but so, too, would native princes insensitive to the needs of their subjects:

It is the bomb that frightens the Government into conceding rights to the people. The chief act is to frighten the Government. Under the whip of fright the Government will reduce the taxes, will spend more money on the protection of health, and will abstain from interference with reforms in Native States. Whatever freedom is left in the Native States will be maintained by virtue of the bomb, for then the Government will not interfere much in the internal affairs of the Native States. The fear of the bomb will induce lazy and intemperate Rajas to discharge their duties properly. The bomb is the messenger of mutiny, and the fear of mutiny is the weapon for correcting the Government, while a general mutiny will be the means of its total annihilation. Without the bomb, slavery and poverty would have gone on increasing in India in the twentieth century, and there would have been no limit to oppression. But a voice has proclaimed . . . that oppression is about to come to an end, because the benefactor and protector of the poor, i.e., the bomb, has been brought across the seas. Worship it, sing its praise, bow to it. *Bande Mataram*¹⁸

Much of this was familiar but there seemed now a sense of urgency on the part of India Office officials who saw Har Dayal as the “Garibaldi” in the nationalist movement. Some concern was expressed when the British ambassador to the United States, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice, was doubtful as to whether there were a case for deporting Har Dayal.³⁰ In the meantime, the world situation had moved *Ghadr* in another direction.

Pro-German Intimations

Har Dayal and his fellow revolutionaries were well aware of international tensions and prepared to exploit them. Long before Har Dayal left Paris to come eventually to the United States, Germany was recognized as a power friendly to India’s nationalistic aims. It will be remem-

bered that when it was announced that Virendranath Chattopadhyaya had moved his extremist publication, *Talwar*, from London to Berlin, Har Dayal hailed this action, adding that the cultivation of friendly relations with Germany would eventually be advantageous to Indian independence.⁴⁰ In this, he was echoing what Savarkar had said earlier when he had written in *Talwar* that there would be a war between Germany and England and that "such a war would be a golden opportunity for India" and the Indians could be useful to the Germans. As an example of the rapport between the Germans and Indians he said that his warning to leave England in 1909 after the murder of Sir Curzon Wylie had actually come from a German agent.⁴¹ Friendship with Germany was a theme that Har Dayal continued to develop in *Ghadr*. In the second issue he wrote: "The Germans have great sympathy with our movements for liberty, because they and ourselves have a common enemy (the English). In the future, India can draw assistance also."

If the British were aware of this, there was little mention of it in their reports. What did concern them, however, was a meeting which was held by the Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast in Sacramento on December 31, 1913. The German consul in San Francisco was a special guest, who sat on the platform with Har Dayal and other leaders of both the association and the *Ghadr* party. Har Dayal was the principal speaker and is alleged by the British to have said that "Germany was preparing to go to war with England, and that it was time to get ready to go to India for the coming revolution."⁴² It is interesting that the *Ghadr* report of the meeting makes no mention of the presence of the German consul, nor, as did other accounts, that Har Dayal had read a portion of General Friedrich von Bernhardi's *Germany and the Next War*, which had been written in 1911. There was apparently some confusion in the minds of some of those present at the meeting as to who Bernhardi was, because the good German general was referred to in some accounts with an Anglicized name: "Burn Hardy."⁴³

In his report, Har Dayal probably played down the German connection in his zeal to emphasize the plight of the British. The *Ghadr* account said that the threat of a German declaration of war was only one of the problems besetting the British, who, he said, were faced with trouble in Afghanistan as that country was "getting civilized" or "progressing" — depending on which translation you read — and that the government was unable to do anything in Bengal. A further pressure was coming from the Muslims "who are now joining the revolutionary party." As a matter of fact, in his own report of the meeting in *Ghadr* he kept pressing the point that there were many Muslims present and that "strong arguments" were put forward for Hindu-Muslim unity. Special attention was called to the

fact that one of the slides shown was of a Muslim woman under three months sentence of hard labor for her part in the South African movement. The magic lantern was used with telling effect, according to Balshastri Hardas, as Dar Hayal spoke:

A wave of enthusiasm and willingness to do anything at his bidding overtook the whole meeting place. On the screen, in the background, these skillful organizers had kept the pictures which inspired patriotic fervour. Mazzini, William Tell, Lenin, Sun-yat Sen, Nanasahib Peshwa, Rani Lakshmibai, Tatya Tope, Chapekar, Kudiram Bose, Kanhyaya Lal Dutta and so many other martyrs who had offered their lives for their motherland, were as if watching upon the proceedings of the meeting. It was almost a silent introduction to the lesson of sacrifice. The tempo of the meeting began to rise. Clappings, cheers and the victory cry *Jai Jaikar* boomed in the atmosphere. The will to be free . . . inspired the whole air. Young Kartar Singh began to sing:

*Chalo, Chaliye, deshnu yuddha Karan,
E, ho, akhiri vachan, te farman hogaye
(Come on! Join us, let us go to fight the
battle of our freedom; why waste time, the
final order is given, let us go!)*

The whole assembly began to sing with Kartar Singh. Almost all . . . vowed to keep company and pace not only in the song but in action, too.⁴⁴

By contrast, the translation of what Har Dayal said he said seems cold and flat. But, for the record, this is how he concluded:

As the story goes, the jackal, when he gets bad luck, goes to the City; the same way the English Government has moved their Capital from Calcutta to Delhi. They cannot save themselves now because they are between the Punjabis, Rajputs and Mohammedans. Everyone remembers the mutiny of 1857 at Delhi, and we hope the people of Delhi will do their duty. It is our own fault if we are under the power of the Government. If we try we can easily be free. Those hearing the unfairness of the Government should be fired with anger and readily sacrifice their lives and not sit down and become careless. If the patriots are captured, it is the fault of the countrymen who are not ready to fight for them.

We ought to be ashamed of ourselves and hate the Government servants who are the oppressors of our countrymen. We ought to give the police trouble all the time, and we should always be ready to start the mutiny. If we are always prepared you will not become afraid. It is the duty of all our countrymen to join the soldiers' mutiny. Help the paper and be ready to start a revolution as soon as you return to India. There is nothing greater than this at present and it is everyone's duty to join in.⁴⁵

This meeting had attracted members of the Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast from chapters all over California, Oregon, and Washington, as well as some delegates from the rapidly expanding Ghadr network

abroad, notably in Asia and Latin America. Perhaps the British were correct in linking a possible German declaration of war with the exhortation to action, as action was most surely the next emphasis.

Plan of Action

Indications are that Har Dayal's organizational abilities, and oral and written eloquence had created a movement which was on the verge of getting beyond his control, or, as Gobind Behari Lal put it, "got tangled up." The enthusiastic supporters of the Hindu Association of the Pacific Coast and Ghadr began to demand more than exhortation to prepare themselves for a revolution at some indeterminate future time. If there were to be action, they wanted it now! The suggestion that England would soon be involved in a European war and that this would be the time to strike seemed to bring the movement to a head. After the Sacramento meeting, German support of the Ghadr movement became more evident. Money not only became available, but German agents now helped to deliver published materials to places all over the world. Within six months, the British noted that Ghadr literature was appearing at various places throughout the Empire: Egypt, South Africa, Fiji, Canada, British East Africa, and British Guiana, to mention a few.⁴⁶ It wasn't long before Ghadr workers appeared in the Philippines, Hongkong, Thailand, Burma, the Dutch East Indies, Mexico, Panama, and Brazil. Back in San Francisco, large numbers of signboards were posted in the ashram, Ghadr headquarters, and Ghadr meeting places reading "Do not oppose the Germans."⁴⁷

The prospect of German financial support seemed to provide the means by which a revolutionary army could be organized, but it was the Chinese Nationalists who provided the actual plan of action. The Ghadr party was now divided into two sections: propaganda and action. Har Dayal retained control of propaganda activities, and Khankhoje reentered the picture as the leader of the action wing, saying that secrecy was the most important thing for this section of the Ghadr organization, as they operated in constant fear of infiltration of British intelligence agents. Individual workers did not always know what was going on in areas other than those to which they were assigned. Intensive screening procedures were initiated before anyone was admitted to this action wing of the party. There were, Khankhoje said, "a large number of young freedom lovers who offered to fight and die for the revolution." He continues:

It was at this time that the party of Dr. Sun-yat Sen offered its assistance to Indian struggles. The plan of action was like this. In the first step, it was decided to cut communications, by mobbing railway stations and cutting telegraph lines, then destroying the Police Chowkis (police stations), disorganizing the military camps and check-posts, etc. When this

movement gathered momentum, the second step was to establish revolutionary camps in jungles, and border areas, in the hills and valleys, and then to start harassing the English administration and the armies. It was also decided that the question of arms and ammunition was to be solved by raiding English military camps and armouries. It was not possible for us to purchase and procure arms and weapons by any other means except by guerilla raids on army bases of the English. In pursuance of this plan, we began to move our men and leaders.⁴⁸

It will be remembered that Homer Lea was instrumental in organizing an assault force of young Chinese revolutionists on the West Coast in support of Sun-Yat Sen. This force was landed in China and actually took part in the revolutionary action in its early stages.⁴⁹ Homer Lea died in 1912, but perhaps some of the men who worked with him were available in 1914 to advise Khankhoje.

Another important aspect of the Ghadr plan was to subvert the loyalty of members of the Indian regiments. Har Dayal had consistently hammered on this point in *Ghadr* and the Sikh veterans on the West Coast were pressured to send copies of Ghadr publications to their former camp mates as well as to return to India to spread revolutionary ideas among the troops. In the British files there is evidence that the troops and Indian civil servants were not always delighted by being singled out for suborning. One loyal assistant surgeon reported that he had received and immediately destroyed a packet of "seditious papers" from the United States, suspecting that it came from someone "who wished to ruin me by this trick." He affirmed: "I am a pure Sikh, have always been and shall always be loyal and faithful." He enclosed a translation of an article from a Sikh newspaper in which Ghadr was said to be meant only "to bad name the Sikhs."⁵⁰ Nonetheless, the propaganda mill kept grinding. But the plan of action was no more than articulated when Har Dayal was seized by U. S. immigration officials.

ARREST

From its inception, the Ghadr movement was pledged "not to do anything against the laws of any country where the party might be working."⁵¹ The Indians in the United States had little difficulty holding to this tenet in view of the fact that no legislation existed under which an alien might be indicted for the kind of activity being carried on by Har Dayal and his associates. The Irish in New York openly published the *Gaelic-American*, and Russians, Poles, and Mexicans had carried on movements to overthrow the governments in their respective countries. In 1912, Congress had defeated the so-called Root Amendment to the Dillingham Immigration Bill, which called for the deportation of "any

alien who shall take advantage of his residence in the United States to conspire with others for the violent overthrow of a foreign government recognized by the United States.”⁵² In support of the defeat of the measure, the *Nation*, commented: “This country is not yet ready to turn its back on its traditions; not yet ready to deny sympathy, comfort, and aid to refugees who plot for freedom.”⁵³ These noble sentiments were not, however, shared by the immigration inspectors in the field who worked surreptitiously with the British to establish a case against Har Dayal, even though the commissioner general in Washington was unaware of the fact that his inspectors were making use of the services of a Canadian immigration official.⁵⁴ The U. S. inspector in charge of immigration at Vancouver freely acknowledged that it was through Hopkinson’s work that sufficient evidence was amassed against Har Dayal to issue a warrant for his arrest.⁵⁵

That warrant, however, was more than a year in coming. In early January of 1913 Hopkinson had called on the assistant commissioner of immigration at Angel Island and had learned the conditions necessary to bring deportation charges against Har Dayal:

1. Landing to be within three years.
2. At the time of landing known to be a revolutionist or anarchist.
3. Local evidence of belonging to any revolutionary society.

As has been indicated, Hopkinson was convinced after a few weeks in San Francisco that he had sufficient evidence to warrant pushing action. The date of Har Dayal’s arrival was a matter of record (at that time Har Dayal had been in the United States only two years); he could secure evidence that Har Dayal had been associated with anarchist publications before he came to the States, and a record of Har Dayal’s statements in San Francisco.⁵⁶ He reported all of this to his superiors in Ottawa, who turned his findings over to the India Office, and steps were taken to deal with the matter through the Foreign Office, which communicated its concern to the British Ambassador in Washington. As has been indicated, he, however, felt that “the conditions of domestic politics in the United States makes it impossible for the United States Executive to give us any effective help.”⁵⁷

This was in May of 1913. With Har Dayal’s appearance in the Pacific Northwest, Hopkinson once more entered the picture. Meanwhile, C.I.D. officials developed a case against Har Dayal based on a remark he had made in *Shabash!* indicating that the assassination of a president of the United States was an example “to prove that in civilized countries the assassin’s dagger is used as an essential weapon of advancement.” They also stated that it was “moral certainty that the Delhi-Lahore conspirators

[charged in connection with the Hardinge assassination attempt] look upon Har Dayal as their great leader." A message was sent from India urging the India Office to "make every effort to get Yugantar Ashram in San Francisco broken up."⁶⁸ But before the matter proceeded any further, Sir Cecil Spring-Rice had a change of heart, and a warrant was issued for Har Dayal's arrest.

Har Dayal had brought himself forcibly to the attention of high U. S. and British officials when he arrived in Washington on February 9, 1914, as a member of a delegation of Hindus to protest Congressional bills introduced by three California representatives — John E. Raker (2nd District), Everis Anson Hayes (8th District), and Denver S. Church (7th District) — which would exclude the immigration of all Asiatics to the United States. Secretary of State William Jennings Bryan had called attention to the fact that "delicate negotiations were pending between the United States and the Japanese government" and had proposed that a diplomatic crisis might be averted by limiting Oriental exclusion to Hindus.⁵⁹ This is undoubtedly what prompted the presence of the Indians in Washington. Closed hearings being held before the House Immigration Committee were opened on Friday, February 16, to permit the appearance of Dr. Bishan Singh of Stockton, representing the Khalsa Diwan and Dr. Sudhindra Bose, a Bengali who was then teaching at the University of Iowa. Har Dayal did not testify, but he did call at the Bureau of Immigration, and his views were inserted in the record as those of a "cultured man and a graduate of Oxford University." He primarily objected to Hindu laborers being bracketed with "all idiots, imbeciles, feeble-minded persons, etc."

The Indians were shot down by the commissioner-general of immigration, Anthony Caminetti — himself a Californian — who challenged statistics showing only 6,556 in the United States as "fallacious and misleading. There are more Hindus than that in the San Joaquin and Sacramento Valleys in California. There are at least 30,000 Hindus in California alone, and many in the States of Oregon and Washington." He offered no substantiation for his figures and urged that Congress pass laws similar to those which were in effect in Canada, saying that this would mean almost absolute Hindu exclusion.

In the face of this onslaught, the best the Indians could do was to suggest a "gentleman's agreement" similar to that concluded between Japan and the United States.⁶⁰ Earlier, the Indians had called on the British Ambassador, who answered their plea that he use his good offices to prevent the passage of hostile U. S. legislation by saying that the questions involved in the regulation of Hindu immigration into other countries than India were "too grave to permit any attempt being made to adjust them except through the British Foreign Office."⁶¹

In the meantime, the British Embassy had taken steps to curtail the activities of Har Dayal. A complaint against him was made by Ernest Scott, the first secretary, and a warrant for his arrest was issued by the Bureau of Immigration "on charges of being a member of excluded classes, an anarchist or advocating the overthrow of the United States government by force."⁶² With all of the planning, the British had missed by twenty-four hours. Har Dayal had completed his third year of residence in the United States the day before. The Embassy publicly admitted its role by saying, "the British Government long had its eye on Dayal. Following an investigation into the activities of the Hindoo, it complained to the U. S. Bureau of Immigration that the Hindoo is a dangerous agitator and for years has been attempting to stir up a revolution in British India."⁶³

Although the warrant for his arrest was issued in Washington while Har Dayal was in the capital, he was not actually taken into custody until more than six weeks later, after he had returned to San Francisco. Har Dayal's arrest on March 25, 1914, was the lead story in the San Francisco newspapers the next day, and all accounts agreed that he had taken the matter coolly. The only statement he gave to the press at the time of his arrest was to the effect that "everything would turn out all right." The San Francisco newspapers associated the arrest of Har Dayal with a report from Delhi which had been published the day of the arrest in which it was said that during the trial of Amir Chand on charges of sedition, "incriminating evidence was introduced, which included a letter bearing the monogram of the University of California, which urged a general massacre of Europeans."⁶⁴ No effort was ever made to associate Har Dayal with the letter bearing the University of California seal, but the implication may have been the reason for Har Dayal's arrest on that particular date. U. S. immigration authorities seemed to have been awaiting an opportunity to serve the warrant and may also have found it at the so-called "Socialist" meeting at which Har Dayal was actually taken into custody. The meeting, according to newspaper accounts, was devoted "the 'roasting' of England's policy in India."⁶⁵

Har Dayal wrote an account of his arrest for *Ghadr* which was headlined:

CONGRATULATIONS!

CONGRATULATIONS!! CONGRATULATIONS!!!

BE ON THE ALERT! ENEMY'S FIRST BLOW!

MEETING IN SAN FRANCISCO

In this version Har Dayal emphasized his savoir-faire, saying that he knew the arrest was coming and readily agreed to appear at the immigra-

tion office the next day.⁶⁶ The program went on as scheduled, with Har Dayal as the martyr of the hour.

INTERROGATION

True to his word, Har Dayal kept his appointment with immigration inspectors and submitted to a three-hour interrogation the day after his arrest. According to a newspaper account, he was accompanied by a delegation of more than two hundred Indians, who escorted him to the pier where he boarded the steamer for Angel Island. The paper reported that although "Hindoos of the city and surrounding counties were greatly excited over the news of their leader's arrest . . . beyond much loud talking and gesticulation, no threatening demonstration was noticed, but in anticipation a special guard was on duty at pier 7."⁶⁷

One of the immigration inspectors reported that he had been threatened ever since mid-1913 by Hindus who said that he would be "blown up, thrown off the dock, etc." They considered the work of Har Dayal so important that they would kill to save him: "the Hindus regarded Har Dayal as their Messiah — the only one who could deliver them from British bonds." At the same time, this officer said that Har Dayal had written him saying that he was aware of British plans to "kidnap" him because of his activities.⁶⁸ Although those on Angel Island were nervous, both the arrest and interrogation of Har Dayal were carried off without incident.

The opening questions centered around a speech which Har Dayal had made on October 31, 1913, on the eve of the appearance of *Ghadr* and the formation of the revolutionary party. The speech was basically a discussion of the Russian revolution but, like most of his speeches, was not confined to just that subject. Har Dayal began by saying that the Russian revolution deserved careful study "because of the many lessons we can derive from it and because of its tremendous importance for the future of the race." He then said that he could speak of the revolution from the point of view of an outsider because he had never been to Russia and that he did not intend to go until the last czar was buried. His interest in Russia had been nurtured by its literature. "I am," he said, "a disciple of the Russian revolutionary movement. This is not known to many, not even my friends."

Asked if he were, indeed, a "disciple of the Russian revolutionary movement," Har Dayal answered: "The word disciple has so many meanings. I am a student of it; I have derived inspiration from it. I know personally many leaders of the Russian revolution." He was not, he said, a sympathizer of the Russian revolutionaries, but he held that their revolution was "justified essentially and necessary for civilization." Pressed as to whether he felt the elimination of the czars had been justified, he answered

rather guardedly: "On the whole, I think yes, though there is no hard and fast rule in judging historical phenomena." On the subject of force and violence connected with the Russian revolution, he said that each case would have to be considered in terms of its contribution to the "movement for liberty," and that if violence were the only means of changing a government that did not satisfy the people he would condone it "if such an action would help the progress of civilization and freedom. That is my opinion as a student."

Har Dayal then characterized the Russian revolutionary movement as being fostered almost exclusively by extremists who sought to depose the government he, too, considered despotic, and thus he would consider that they were "justified in taking all measures which in the circumstances of the case should further the happiness of the Russian people." As for the assassination of Czar Alexander: "I think that one particular act resulted in more good than evil to the human race. As to other acts, each must be judged on individual merits."

He was then questioned with regard to references to India he had made in his speech, and he readily reaffirmed his contention that "the British Empire is sucking the life blood of millions of people in Ireland, India, and Egypt." But he stated his opposition to violence in India on the grounds that it was "not the right method to carry on revolution in India and these actions in the present condition of the country retard, rather than promote, the growth of the Nationalist Party." He then proposed his theory that literary propaganda was the proper course of action and essential at that stage because the nationalist movement in India at that time was "in a stage of infancy and should devote all its energy to propaganda." The revolutionary movement in India, he explained, was identified with a party called variously, the Nationalist, the Extremist, or the *Swaraj* (which he defined as meaning "independence"). This party, he said, drew from all classes of Indian society except the Indian Christians and Afghans. He referred to the Sikh movement in the Punjab as "a small movement" and said that the Muslims were now entering into nationalist activities as a protest against British policy in the Balkan War.

The interrogation moved on to Har Dayal's comments on American labor leaders accused of transporting dynamite in violation of the law. In this connection, he said that he believed that "no person should be heavily punished for the social phenomena in which we are involved." He indicted the officials of the steel trust as being equally as guilty of a crime for "maintaining horrible conditions" in the mills and "destroying the lives and health and manhood of American citizens." The labor leaders, for their part, were "cowardly" for tolerating such conditions. He saw no justification for vio-

lence or retribution: "I say that even if these people were guilty, we would realize the laws of charity and the law of love which will confer greater social benefit than mere punishment inflicted on any individuals."

He was then asked, "In the speech, you said, 'In this country, if you go to a university, students there are busy preparing to be engineers or some kind of parasites.' Do you regard those performing useful occupations in society as parasites?" Har Dayal answered: "No. I would not say the statement is correct. The engineer has a useful occupation, and this cannot be said of all occupations for which a university prepares our young men; the salaries offered to engineers are so much higher than the wages of the working man, and I hold that the law of love teaches us that we should love like brothers and sisters, sharing equally the progress of the earth."

Asked if he was "at variance with most of the present forms of government in the administration of the judicial and the administration of the executive branches of government," Har Dayal responded:

I am a critic, but I should not say I am entirely at variance, . . . [and] I certainly think that the social organization of what is called government is very liable to be perverted from its proper operation when there is a great difference of economic conditions in a community, because in a community where there is a small class of very rich people, they generally manage to control these institutions. I believe that in some countries social civilization will take place to the greatest advantage of all by persuasive abolition of institutions where there are means and methods of accomplishing that end, but I hold that in other countries social progress will be accompanied at first by upheavals called revolutions. I hold at the same time that the use of the method described as direct action should be very sparing as most terrorists are foolish and impulsive. I also hold that very little is gained by such individual acts and that to achieve results there must be mass movements or revolution of the whole community. I always deprecate such individual acts almost anywhere because for one such beneficial act there are ninety-nine injurious and retrogressive attempts, but I do not judge those who act according to the light of their conscience in these matters. I myself do not encourage or participate in any such individual acts, though I do preach and educate the people for a national revolution.

Har Dayal said that in his lectures in America "I look upon myself as more of a thinker and philosopher, if I may be so vain as to use that word, than as an agitator participating in any temporal social movement. I always lecture from the academic and educational standpoint to the white people in this country, because, being a foreigner, I cannot directly influence social movements."

The interrogator then said: "To sum up your views as expressed in this report and as amplified by your statements, you, in the first place, be-

lieve that most of the present forms of government could be improved on." To this, Har Dayal agreed, adding:

I shall make myself clear. I hold that in backward countries, where the government is despotic, education and propaganda of ideas must go on for a long time, and then through spontaneous or long prepared revolution, new institutions should be established. As to individual acts of violence, I have already said that on the whole they do more harm than good, though each case must be judged on its merits, and I will not go out of my way to censure anyone who sacrifices his life for his ideal because I am not called upon to judge others. I derive inspiration of self-denial from all lives of sacrifice. Personally, I do not in any way say or do anything to encourage or approve of such acts because my greater work of education would be hindered, and impulsive young men would be led astray and throw away their lives in such futile acts of violence. I always utilize the energies of young men for literary and oral propaganda, coupled with moral exhortation among the ignorant, as I am doing now in California. The conclusion of my teachings is found at the end of my lecture, namely courage and self-denial in the service of the people. I do not ask anyone to imitate such individual acts, such as the assassination of Alexander. I threw it in because the audience was chiefly composed of Russians for whom Russian incidents were of interest.

The Americans, perhaps at the suggestion of Hopkinson, tried to find a link between Har Dayal and Emma Goldman. At one point during the interrogation he was shown a copy of *Mother Earth* and asked if he knew the editor of the magazine or Alexander Berkman. He said that he had heard Miss Goldman speak but that he was not personally acquainted with her and that he had never even seen Berkman. Mention of Har Dayal's attendance at one of Emma Goldman's lectures was entered into the record with the observation that Har Dayal "apparently took no part in this proceeding although he was greeted by and greeted several persons there."

Little emphasis could be placed on Har Dayal's articles in *Ghadr*, primarily because he objected so strenuously to the quality of the translation. An interchange did take place, however, on the role of students in the Indian nationalist movement. The interrogator made the point that Indians educated in the United States tended "to break down their caste and religious objections to each other and act as a medium of unification." To this, Har Dayal agreed, allowing the interrogator to ask if they were not also in a position to be effective members of the Nationalist Party of India. "Of course," said Har Dayal, "and they also imbibe the free spirit of American society and are, therefore, morally benefitted."

When asked to identify Indian students in the United States who were active in the nationalist movement, Har Dayal said: "If the purpose of this inquiry, even about my knowing these students, is for the information of

the American government, I will answer, but if this is for the purpose of transmitting to the British government, I will not answer." The interrogator said that he had no knowledge that any information would be passed on to the British, and the dialogue continued:

Q: These questions are asked, then, in order to ascertain whether there is evidence for the conclusion that you are using this city or country as a base from which to spread your propaganda of education among Hindus advocating the overthrow of the British government in India.

A: Yes, that is why I am here. If I cannot do it here, I will go to some other country. I have been doing this work for ten years from France and Italy. I have no intention of staying permanently in this country because my work will lead me to Europe next year.

Har Dayal then expressed himself in regard to his propaganda activity.

As regards India, I consider myself an organizer of a movement. My policy in writing my articles has always been to deduce the lesson of self sacrifice from any acts of terrorism that may be mentioned. On several occasions I distinctly state in my articles that their example is not to be imitated because I know that the electrical effect of life for a cause is a great moral asset. It diffuses a general atmosphere of enthusiasm and I direct that enthusiasm which has already been created by such acts into the channel of propaganda for my organization. I believe that martyrs, whether they merely suffer death or suffer it after inflicting death on others, raise the moral level of the community from their example, but never make it a basis for exhortation for similar acts. At the same time, I recognize that where there is a great movement of discontent, some persons will inevitably commit these individual acts somewhere because no leader or organization can control a vast movement of unrest. As no such act has ever followed my preaching by word or through my articles, I, at present, think it is a method of moral elevation, but is not objectionable, though I am extremely cautious whenever I refer to any terrorists in our paper. We always give all such news without comment, like ordinary newspapers, because I understand that the commission of such acts in this country, or in India, by persons belonging to the organization or associated with me, would be a severe blow to my work. As a matter of fact, I have to control, rather than to incite, in such matters. As, for instance, when detectives sent by the English government are discovered by Hindu working men or students in their midst, the hot-headed young men want at least to beat them. Some say they should be killed and so on. In all such cases I have to exercise a restraining influence on them. I published a note in our paper on this subject showing that the life of a detective was despicable but we should only despise and shun them instead of even thinking of beating them. I rarely or seldom mention individual acts of terrorism in my speeches or articles because most of them have very little social significance.

The interrogation concluded with the following formal questions:

Q: Do you believe or advocate the overthrow by force or violence of the Government of the United States?

A: No.

Q: Of all governments?

A: No.

Q: Of all forms of law?

A: No.

Q: Of the assassination of public officials?

A: That depends on the circumstances of the country. As a general rule, I believe that tyrannical government should be overthrown by mass uprisings, but this does not mean that I must condemn the assassination of public officials in all lands in all ages and under all circumstances, as a principle.

Har Dayal was granted permission to make the following statement:

I will further say that at the time of my entry into the United States, I had not taught much on conclusions of government in general. My two chief interests were Buddhism and its efficiency and the nationalist movement in India. As time passed, my interest in Buddhism has waned and the modern labor movement has taken its place, while the nationalist movement in India retains the same hold on my affection. I resent the insinuation that I was an anarchist, etc., at the time of my entry into the United States in any sense of the word, so some of my present views on the future ideal of the human race and the perfect form of society may be described as philosophical anarchism by many people. In fact, Dr. [David Prescott] Barrows of the University of California wrote in a letter of introduction to the Honorable Mr. [Jeremiah W.] Jenks that I studied and appreciated the principle of scientific anarchism, but anarchism in that sense is very different from the definition as expounded in the press relating to excluded classes. I will never enter a country by denying my convictions. As I did not come to the United States with the object of making money, I could have no motive in lowering my personal dignity by telling a lie to the government officials.⁶⁹

STATEMENTS TO THE PRESS

Har Dayal's arrest did not interrupt his schedule of public lectures. After the interrogation on Angel Island, he went to the I.W.W. Hall to deliver one of his regular lectures for what he called his "Radical Lecture Course" (no connection with the Radical club). The subject was, "The Problem of Unemployment." He announced at that time that three days later he would speak on "British Rule in India."⁷⁰ He was now front-page news: the morning after the interrogation, two San Francisco newspapers carried signed statements in which Har Dayal made his position clear.

In the *San Francisco Chronicle* he revealed the gist of the questioning,

referring to the lecture on the Russian revolution and some of the articles which had appeared in *Ghadr*. After discussing the role of the publication he said that he intended to go to the nation's capital to deliver some lectures in which he would quote from Secretary of State Bryan's 1908 pamphlet on British rule in India, which he considered "a scathing denunciation of such tyrannical government." As for himself, he said that he tried "to organize labor on a moral basis and to present to the world ideas for a new synthetic system of philosophy. It is my ambition to excel both in thought and action." This relatively brief statement was followed by a two-column article in which his whole case was covered in detail and further remarks by Har Dayal quoted, including his reiteration that his mission to America was that of an educator and his statement that "I have no desire to inflame the minds of your countrymen against their Government."⁷¹

The *Bulletin* reversed the process and carried a brief story on the arrest and interrogation and a two-column, signed article by Har Dayal in which he briefly outlined his career and then said:

The immediate occasion for my arrest has been the growing success of our Hindu nationalist revolutionary propaganda, represented by the weekly paper, *Rebellion*, which is published in two languages of India, at San Francisco, on behalf of the association. That paper advocates armed revolt in India for the establishment of an independent republic in the near future. It carefully avoids incitement to individual terrorism. It has no connection with any school of anarchism; but a series of articles translated from the paper has been adduced as evidence against me. The association carries on oral and written propaganda; it does not import arms into India or promote any military activity.

If such a paper cannot be published in the United States, we shall remove it to some other country.

At the same time I took up new intellectual interests, as it is my ambition to perfect a synthetic system of philosophy. I have been lecturing before universities and clubs on the most diverse topics and the United States never molested me. But now English detectives are harassing me and my colleagues.⁷²

While the *Chronicle* and *Bulletin* were providing Har Dayal with ample space to state his views, the *San Francisco Examiner* published the full text of the pamphlet which Har Dayal had issued in connection with the Fraternity of the Red Flag and reviewed his statements in support of "free love," hinting that this had been the cause of his resignation from the Stanford faculty.⁷³ But even the *Examiner* allowed Har Dayal to deny that he was an anarchist and permitted him the luxury of a scathing denunciation of American servility to British demands: "It is the despicable

pro-British subservience of the United States government at present that is responsible for my arrest. The Democratic administration is licking the boots of England as any one sees who observes the administration's attitude toward Great Britain on the canal toll question."

If that weren't calculated to inspire Republican sympathy for his cause, Har Dayal went further. He said that the articles from *Ghadr* which immigration officials were using in evidence against him simply dealt with British politics in India, exposing what he felt were the evils of that alien government: "Aside from that they are as respectful as a Boston spinster's Sunday bonnet." Then he asked, "Now doesn't that look as if the immigration authorities here were assisting John Bull, who is the present boss of the Democratic Administration?"⁷⁴

Har Dayal received rather guarded editorial support from the *Chronicle*, which said in effect that there was no reason why Har Dayal should be singled out for deportation when there were other "pestiferous foreign agitators" considerably less desirable. Har Dayal, the newspaper remarked, was "of an emotional nature made mad by too much learning," and concluded, "We may wish he would go elsewhere, but possibly he does less harm here than he would do anywhere else. So far as is known, he is not organizing war against Great Britain or shipping arms to Indian revolutionists, in which case he contrasts favorably with a multitude of our native-born American citizens who by express permission of the President are doing both those things to Mexico."⁷⁵

John D. Barry, the *Bulletin's* columnist and author of many articles on India based on Har Dayal's evaluations, accompanied the Indian to Angel Island. On the trip, Har Dayal told him what he hoped to accomplish through *Ghadr*. We catch a glimpse of the young radical through Barry:

It was interesting to watch Har Dayal as he talked, his smooth, boyish face, bright with enthusiasm, his dark eyes shining. He realized that he had taken up a tremendous task. The apathy in India was hard to destroy. But the leaven of revolution was at work among the great masses of the people. They were the ones that suffered most from the English rule. Just now little could be hoped from the people of the middle class. They were enjoying too many material advantages as a result of the English policy that drew so largely on the middle-class Indians for the comfortable berths in the civil service. And as for the Indian aristocracy, like all long-established aristocracies, it had been made degenerate by luxury and idleness. The burden of taxation exacted by England fell, as taxation was certain ultimately to do, on those least able to bear it.

Barry elaborated on Har Dayal's revolutionary views along familiar lines and said that Har Dayal expressed no fear for his own welfare as there was "no possible excuse for his being deported." According to Barry, it

had been an exhilarating experience for Har Dayal: "At the end of the day he felt some elation. The revolution in India has been exploited."⁷⁶

On the whole, Har Dayal had come off rather well in presenting himself and his cause favorably in the San Francisco newspapers, but he did not limit himself to the local area in stating his case. In contrast with some of his earlier encounters with the authorities, he avoided presenting himself as an individual victim of British oppression and focused attention on the fact that the United States government had acquiesced to British pressure. He continued along these lines as he moved to gain both national and international support for his cause.

REPERCUSSIONS

Three days after his arrest, Har Dayal sent a telegram to Senator George Earle Chamberlain of Oregon, a former governor of that state, saying that immigration officials had "blundered and acted in a high-handed manner in arresting me after expiration of three years from entry." He said that Americans on the West Coast were very sympathetic to him and "resentful of subservience of the U. S. government to the British Embassy." He cited the statement by a high immigration official that he would be deported a premature move and indicative of a biased mind. Press clippings, he said, were on the way, and he asked the senator to expose "British intrigue and claim for Hindu refugees right of asylum and legitimate literary propaganda against tyrannical British Government of India." Har Dayal once again affirmed that he had been in the United States more than three years and was "highly esteemed as philosopher and social thinker in Pacific Coast."⁷⁷

At about the same time the *Examiner* reported that dispatches received from Washington indicated that the arrest of Har Dayal would be the subject of a Congressional inquiry and that "Friends of Har Dayal in Washington state their belief that his arrest was made at the request of the British Government, and is part of the policy of the State Department to placate England." The article included the information that Indians in British Columbia had raised \$800 for the defense of Har Dayal, who was even then at work on making his own translations of *Ghadr* articles attached to the complaint against him.⁷⁸

Har Dayal also received strong support from Colonel Charles Erskine Scott Wood of Oregon, a graduate of West Point and former law partner of George H. Williams, attorney general under President Ulysses S. Grant, who was characterized by immigration officials as a man "whose word is worthy of respect."⁷⁹ The good colonel's word was that he spoke for William U'Ren, a nationally known progressive, and Professors William F. Ogburn and Norman C. Coleman of Reed College, and other leaders of

"the Oregon system" in denouncing deportation action against Har Dayal. He concluded by comparing him to early American Revolutionary leaders.⁸⁰ The Friends of Russian Freedom also rallied to Har Dayal's side and sent a letter to the Commissioner General of Immigration defending his right of asylum. "It seems preposterous that in this, of all countries, it was proposed to surrender this Hindu who has been doing for his people what we revere the 'fathers' here for having done for us." The letterhead carried names like Lyman Abbott, Jane Addams, Samuel Gompers, Norman Hapgood, Robert M. La Follette, and Julius Rosenwald.⁸¹

From Paris, Mme. Cama cabled the secretary of state "in the name of Hindus and Orientals of Europe" asking him "in the name of the glorious American traditions" to give freedom to the "distinguished Hindu scholar and democrat."⁸² The French League of the Rights of Man also cabled Bryan expressing confidence that Har Dayal's case would be "examined with the respect for equity and international law which has always been the pride of Washington's 'fatherland.'" ⁸³ In London, Guy A. Aldred championed Har Dayal in an article in his *Herald of Revolt*, entitled "Stop This Infamy!"

The news of Har Dayal even reached Savarkar in his cell on the Andamans. He was told by the British that Har Dayal had been brought to Bombay on charges of murder because he had implicated himself in the Hardinge assassination attempt. Even before Savarkar was able to use prison channels of information to find out the truth of the matter, he refused to deny his loyalty to his erstwhile colleague, whom he called "one of our great revolutionary leaders." He was especially pleased to learn that Har Dayal "had given the slip to police in America, and that the American government itself had helped him in the escape."⁸⁴

This last is something of a distortion of the facts, although Gobind Behari Lal does indicate that Secretary of Labor William Wilson had written to Fremont Older that Har Dayal would not be deported, that he would be given asylum. But Har Dayal's attorney, Carl Sferlazzo, told him, "You can never trust the government; they might decide to extradite you on some pretext or another, so if you wish to go, go." This, according to Lal, was the advice Har Dayal received.

The affairs of the Ghadr movement and the propaganda machine had by then been turned over to Ram Chandra, a Punjabi editor, alist and publicist with whom Har Dayal had been associated in 1908 in India and whom he had invited to join the San Francisco operation shortly after it had been launched. Har Dayal had also brought over a Muslim friend, Barkatullah, to take charge of the Urdu edition of *Ghadr*.

With the newspaper and the movement in these hands, Har Dayal decided to leave, but before departing he was able to insert in the columns

of the *Chronicle* eight or ten paragraphs from Bryan's indictment of British rule in India.⁸⁵ So it must have been something of a relief for the secretary of state and the beleaguered immigration officials when Har Dayal wrote to the Commissioner-General from Geneva on July 22, 1914:

Sir,

I beg to inform you that I have left the United States after my arrest at San Francisco on March 25 by orders of the Immigration Department.

As the only charge against me was that of being unlawfully in the country, I hope that the exigencies of law are satisfied by my voluntary departure from the country. The only punishment for the misdemeanor charged against me was expulsion or deportation from the United States and I have left the country at my expense and on my own initiative.

I ask you to consider if the Department should return the bond money (\$1,000) to my lawyer, Mr. C. Sferlazzo or to the Securing Company that deposited it. With best regards.

Yours faithfully, Har Dayal⁸⁶

This seemed a modest request, but the bond had already been collected. It was, however, to be refunded, so it is not fair, says Lal, to say that Har Dayal "jumped bail "

THE HINDU-GERMAN 5 CONSPIRACY

A LITTLE MORE than five weeks after his arrest in San Francisco Har Dayal was in Lausanne, Switzerland, writing to Van Wyck Brooks who was still in England: "Here I am — and you will be agreeably surprised." He then recounted his arrest "at the request of the British Embassy," his release on bail, and the fact that he had "skipped." He and his friends, he said, had agreed that even though the investigation of the various charges against him was still going on, it was best to leave. He indicated that he planned to be in Switzerland for the next several months: "I shall have a quiet and regular life for some time. In California I could hardly find time to sit down and write amidst the multiplicity of executive duties." As a postscript, he added, "When are you coming to see me, as I can't come to England?" Later that same day — April 30, 1914 — he wrote again to Brooks asking him to deliver some letters he had enclosed and admonishing him not to mention his arrival in Switzerland.¹

Brooks must have replied by return post, as on May 4 Har Dayal was writing to him again reiterating the call for secrecy and warning him to be very careful about openly expressing sympathy with the Indian nationalist movement or any of its proponents if he intended having any kind of career in England: "Patriotism is England's religion, and they never forgive or even tolerate a person who doesn't worship 'the Empire.' I know it is intolerable for a man to gag himself, but reticence is the price we pay for existence in this system of society." He feared that Brooks might underestimate English feelings about those who made trouble for England in India: "The 'authorities' (and they include all men of eminence in any walk of life) take the Indian unrest very seriously indeed, and it is no use making enemies for yourself at the start."²

Brooks himself makes mention of what he considered Har Dayal's super caution and the variety of names he used for return addresses,³ a ploy which did result in none of Brooks' letters ending up in C.I.D. files. Har Dayal expressed concern over a man named L. de Foureka whom

Brooks had mentioned several different times. He asked, "Does he come often to see you or why? What does he talk about?" and cautioned again, "You have to be careful. And *never* tell anybody anything about me, though he may represent himself as a friend of mine and may actually be so. You should be altogether silent about me and say that you knew me at Stanford, that's all." The remainder of the letter is indicative of the close intellectual companionship which Har Dayal shared with Van Wyck Brooks:

I am thinking of writing a book, though I often hesitate on the score of lack of qualification. But then I think that if one argues in this way, one would never achieve anything. Yes, you are right, Brooks. You can never express one corner of yourself. Life is so (d---d) [*sic*] short for anything. Compare our Aspiration with our Achievement — it's disgusting. You are too hard on literature, though. Of course, there is literature and literature. One cannot write much that really counts. But of all *professions*, literature and medicine are the best, I should think. Look at the alternatives — law (!), business (!), the church, the army, etc., etc. In this capitalistic regime, literature and medicine *may* escape the taint of complete subservience to the Money-Power, but other *professions* are totally mercenary and servile. You see that when you get out of the *productive* working-class (not the servile section of it that merely caters to the rich), you have to misuse your intellect to a certain extent in order to earn a "decent" living. So you need not judge literature too harshly. You can't expect to confound literature *as a liberal profession* with *literature as an art*. The function of the first is the popularization of truth — what a grand function in itself! The function of the second is *creative*. Now, as a man of letters, you are the retail-dealer of truth and knowledge, and your earnings are your wages. Then why expect literature of that kind to do more. As to expressing yourself, that is a different kind of literature. One and the same person may produce both kinds of literature, or he may not. That depends. But really, if I were to choose a profession, which has a certain percentage of idealism in it, it would be literature or medicine. You need not be too discontented with yourself.

Although for the first time Har Dayal had expressed some humility as he discussed his writing, he returns to the subject with a little more authority later in his letter:

I believe I shall write a book on "The Time-Spirit," and shall trace the different tendencies of XIX century civilization making for progress, finishing with the synthesis that I approve of. It will be a kind of survey (from the Anarchistic standpoint) of XIX century history, descriptive and critical, having for its central theme the dissolution of medievalism and the introduction of Anarchism (in its broad sense). You know medievalism is not dead yet — not by any means. And the book will try to ask and answer the question, "Watchman, what of the night?" What do you *think* of the subject?

Brooks had apparently mentioned his financial insecurity and Har Dayal had a few words of advice in this direction:

That money problem is a continual bother, I agree. But you must not look too far ahead. Sufficient for the day is the evil thereof. If you can land something permanent, it will save you from continual worry. I thought you had already secured such a position when you left Stanford. And then, one can get on with a sufficiency — one need not multiply wants, and one must control the women and prevent them from spending too much. I say this as a general proposition relating to money matters.⁴

FRIEDA HAUSWIRTH AGAIN

Har Dayal wrote with more authority about controlling women than his experience with them would seem to justify. Once again he was confronted by Frieda Hauswirth. While she had been at Stanford, Miss Hauswirth had become deeply involved with India's problems and was determined in some way to help alleviate the misery of its millions. She hoped to do this by going to India to work with women in some kind of educational capacity. In this connection, she wrote to several of the Indians whom she had known in California, including Har Dayal. He received the letter shortly after he had been arrested by U. S. immigration officials and responded with haste and fervor:

Oh, Frieda, my mind is in a welter of joy and surprise. To have found you again — the very thought bewilders me. But sure it is true — it is the same Frieda, sure she is, the same dear friend of those unforgettable Palo Alto days, which mark a turning point in my life. I think we two are perhaps destined to achieve something worth while, for you have found that you needed me, and I have found it too. If I were a poet, I would write a poem. Perhaps I shall try a sonnet on the theme: "Frieda lost and found."

Continuing in this vein, Har Dayal told her that he would soon see her:

I have often thought in this way: "When I lecture in Europe, I may meet Frieda at a meeting in Switzerland, and then I shall go up to her, and say, "Holloa, Frieda, comment ca va?" In such reveries I have found solace. For it may sound silly, but I have always longed to see you. What is that? I don't know. And you will be glad to learn that I shall come to Europe at the end of this year, if not before. I shall pursue my usual activity and also study German and Italian. And you will help me in German, won't you, Frieda? Then I shall write the books that I have planned, for which there is no material on this W. coast where there are no big libraries. I hope to see you before the end of the year. Then we shall arrange a plan of work and study, chiefly for you, because you have to do a lot of preparation yet before you can achieve any result. You have to serve your apprenticeship yet. Don't forget that, little Frieda. You

have to read, read, read, at this stage of your career, to give up social distractions, and to live an ordinarily simple life. Don't be "up and doing" just now, for you can't do anything worth while. Sit down and *read* and take notes. Fill your notebooks. That's what I did even after taking my postgraduate course at Oxford. The trouble with people is that they *know so little*. You can't talk to them. *Furnish your mind now as a bourgeois furnishes his drawing room*, and you will acquire *efficiency* for a whole lifetime. Go to some town where there are libraries, or get books from the system of circulating libraries, if it is in vogue there. Do something to earn a living. That plan of lecturing on India will do well. Or any other odd job that does not tire you out. (You are so frail.) But sit down and read and think and take notes. You will find the joy of thus acquiring more knowledge is so great that you will hate all superficial work and noisy social life.

It is doubtful whether Miss Hauswirth was especially interested in receiving all of this well-meaning advice, and she was probably taken aback when Har Dayal assured her, "We'll pick up the thread again." He continued in the same pontifical vein, telling her to

. . . lead a quiet studious life just now, for at least two years, amassing facts and ideas from books. Attend meetings. Don't try to *do* anything. Hurry will leave you *immature* for all time. That's my advice. Do what you like.

If I were you, I would read through Herbert Spencer and Letourneau. I would read *all* the literature of Socialism and Anarchism. I would read some books on economics (say Gide and Leroy Beaulieu). I would read many books on feminism and woman. And so forth.

When I come, my company will help you a good deal, for we can discuss all matters together. Oh, Frieda, how I am looking forward to that day!

Har Dayal then turned to a recital of his own activities, telling Miss Hauswirth of his speeches in behalf of the labor movement and of the establishment of the Bakunin Institute. He also described the work at the Yugantar Ashram, remarking on the big press which had been acquired for printing *Ghadr*. Here, he said, "Devoted young men work night and day. The British government is uneasy. They send spies all the time." His arrest, he said, had been the result of "underhand intrigue" on the part of the British ambassador but his friends were rallying to his side: "We are having a big agitation and a fine time on this arrest." This indicated something of his pleasure at being the center of attention. As for the United States, Har Dayal said that it was seeking an alliance with Britain and might "insist that all this propaganda be stopped." In that event, it was his plan to "remove the press and the paper to G."

In this letter,⁵ and in the others (many were copies made by Miss Hauswirth, who destroyed the originals) which were either later turned over to United States authorities or incorporated in the official record of the 1918 conspiracy trial, personal and place names were deleted and only a capital initial appears. Curse words were not spelled out. Similarly, it was Har Dayal's practice to use elisions, as was apparent in the letters preserved in his own handwriting.

Someone wrote "Geneva" over the "G" in the preceding quote, but it more logically should have been "Germany," as Har Dayal described its location as being near the Swiss border, not as being in Switzerland. In other contexts he had indicated Germany as the most likely locale of another propaganda center.

Most of Har Dayal's enthusiasm fell on deaf ears as Frieda was to comment: "This letter disappointed me deeply at the time because instead of the expected advice and suggestions concerning India, for which ALONE I had reopened connections, nothing but a personal outpouring came, BARELY ONE WORD touching upon my problem of work in India, which is much nearer my heart at present than any feminist movement!"⁶ She had forwarded Har Dayal's letter, along with her remarks, to Saran-gadhar Das, another Indian whom she had met at Stanford, and whom she was later to marry.

Miss Hauswirth told Das of Har Dayal's presence in Switzerland, confiding:

And since he is here, Hell is let loose in the amount of ideas, suggestions, plans, etc. that are pouring upon me. And [Champak Raman] Pillai, the founder of the Pro-India Society in Zurich, is helping him vigorously in presenting the need of active, open revolutionary work and opening up a field of work for me there, and in opposing my plan of going to India. There is no question but what I CAN do good work in this line: helping Pillai to edit a German paper, *Pro-India*, just to be started, going to England and coming in touch with and organizing the students there for revolutionary purposes — a thing I can do with much more liberty and exposed to less suspicion than in India — etc. etc. etc.

On the other hand, I have not heard from Surendra [Surendranath Mohan Bose] for quite a while, and up till now have no definite promise, much less engagement for work there. Added to this, Tarak Nath Das has (and very wisely I think) pointed out the advantage of my not entering India immediately.—

I am therefore between the devil and deep sea now! My one sincere desire is to do useful work for India wherever I can do this best; but I lack the background of judging what method is best. (A more personal and therefore less to be regarded desire of actually LIVING in India for the rest of my life is present however.)

It is very, very hard to judge what course to take! Regard for personal

safety I have little, what there is, is easily overcome, but the prospect of exclusion from India on account of revolutionary work makes me hesitate. Because I don't know yet where I'll be able to do better work, along educational lines or along revolutionary lines. If I only KNEW my powers in both prospects, choosing would be easy!

Miss Hauswirth told Das that she was doing her best to avoid making any decision until she had heard from him and the other Indians to whom she had written, adding, "I'll hold on to that decision, but you know Har Dayal's batteries can be fierce." She indicated her fondness for Das, at Har Dayal's expense, "I've always liked you, and without any future implications or considerations — little acts and attitudes which from Har Dayal's side were and are distasteful to me, were and are 'natural' and welcome from yours." She added, however, "Yet Har Dayal has been more prominent and powerful, and I think, sacrificing than you!"

Sex and sentiment always seemed to enter her life, Miss Hauswirth said, provoking problems:

Certainly there is no reason and sense in all this, and personal relations and likings and SEX are as incomprehensible and stupid and harmful and interfering as they are powerful and irrelevant. — If I knew HOW to cut this side of things out of my life, I would do it with one clear, strong incision, even if it meant lonesomeness for ever after.

And it would not need your "I want you to THINK, THINK" to incite me to do it, — I'd do it just for my own little precious self, and to get rid of the endless botheration personal relations ALWAYS entail!

Here again is one contradiction:

Where the problem of sex HINDERS my work, I say as I said to Har Dayal:

DAMN SEX!

but had it come from a side where it would have HELPED my work, I would have said:

BLESS SEX!

Hang it all! At every new step I take, silly new useless but powerful problems arise, that have nothing to do with WORK.

And I want nothing on this wide earth now than work.

No wonder so many women run to the shelter of PROTECTED INACTIVITY of indifferent marriage!

Hang it all!

Love and comradeship, Frieda⁷

Miss Hauswirth returned to the United States at the end of August, 1914, and although she had agreed to take written instructions from Har Dayal to his successors on the *Ghadr* staff, she destroyed those letters on the way. She had not intended to remain in San Francisco longer than divorce proceedings would take and still hoped to find some way to work in India, an ambition Har Dayal could not countenance. In his letters to

her he became increasingly insistent that she abandon her plans. He wrote, for example, on January 4, 1915:

... Now I wish to ask if you consider it advisable to come to Switzerland for a time to complete your studies in pedagogy. Besides, there is much work to be done on other lines. The war will last several months yet, perhaps longer. And you can utilize the time by taking a Ph.D. here, then you can go to New York, of course, after the war.

As you have not written at all after your arrival in California, I do not know your plans. I would only impress it on your mind that it would be SUICIDAL for you to go to India. If you go there you will soon be a physical, intellectual and moral wreck. I know the country and its climate and all the difficulties better than you do. It will be too late to repent after two years. And, what work will you do there? If you wish to come, please telegraph me your exact address. Kindly also write a letter to the new German address (given above). Arrangements will be made.

I am really perplexed that you have not delivered my letters to the *Ghadr* Party boys and why you have not written a line after your arrival in California! Strange! I guess the reason but am not sure. You will be glad to read Barry's article about me. He exaggerates his friends' good points.

If you decide to come, please don't make a noise about it. It is better to be careful these days, and kindly also write a letter, besides sending the telegram, as the telegram may be intercepted. Letters arrive late, but the service is regular.

I shall be glad to know your future plans of work. Please write definitely and frankly. I really don't understand what has happened.

With best wishes, yours sincerely,

Har Dayal

P.S. If you are thinking of going to India, please see me before you start. It is silly to go during the war period and I hope you will consult me and discuss the matter with me before taking such a decisive step. Do what you like. Let me know once for all what your plans are and do you wish to keep up correspondence with me?

Your PERSONAL life will soon become unhappy in India. Don't be impulsive. Reflect.

You should telegraph in another feminine name. I shall understand. The British may have got your name as a friend of Hindusthan. If you go to India pass through Europe. So you lose nothing by coming to Switzerland. You can go to India from here. If you come, please treat the whole matter as strictly confidential. Please don't be silly and childish now. Or go to h-ll! In any case, if you do not write by March 1, then goodbye!

I learn that you have been showing my letters to other people. Why? Please be "civilized."

I should have come over to the U. S. for my work, but I cannot take the risk of travelling just now.

Please start as soon as you can. You can go to India from here, if you so decide. No harm in coming here now. Let us discuss.

P.S. Just a word about your plans of going to India. We discussed that several times here, but nothing seems to stick in your mind. Well, then,

- (1) Finance. How will you live? Will you depend on a man? And how do you suppose that this man will find a job in the great cities and not in some outlying malarious district. And is this the ideal? Rather a lame conclusion. And the future!
- (2) Climate. You will lose your health in two years completely in that very hot climate.
- (3) Social. On account of your personal . . . [divorce] no one will recognize you. Neither Hindu or Europeans. It will be an awful life and you cannot do any work then.
- (4) Intellectual. There is not much intellectual life in India — no stimulus. You will simply rot. There are no big libraries.
- (5) Moral. What will you do? No scope for feminism or the movement for freedom. Tribal work like teaching children, etc. You can get all that and more in America. Do not be merely impulsive and emotional. Remember your past experience. Be wise. Don't ruin a brilliant intellect and free personality like yours.

Look ahead! If you go to India, what will you be after years? You are not a girl now. Have foresight.

I suggest arguments pro and con. Do what you like and be d---d (I beg your pardon.)

Har Dayal⁸

Four days later, Har Dayal wrote again:

. . . In continuation of my previous letter, I request you most earnestly to come at once, if you are free to do so.

Anyway you can't lose anything by coming. If you intend to do your future work in New York, you can start it by reading, writing, and working for feminism, etc., and you can continue that work in New York later on. During the war much cannot be done at New York either.

If you have decided to do your future work in India, then you can stay here a few months before going there at the end of the war. In that case, I *must* see you and give you necessary letters of introduction as well as directions for your work there. Your departure for India after the war will be very useful for our movement, as we have plenty of work to be done there quietly.

In either case, I see no reason why you should hesitate to come, if you are free to do so.

Some friends have sent you money (\$200) through Western Union Company, San Francisco. It is to be used only for your fare, etc., if you come, if you do not come, please return by ordinary money carrier to my address. Or you can return it by a cheque for me, the cheque to be sent by registered letter to my address. But it would be a pity to disappoint your English and American friends when they are looking forward to your coming.

Your arrival here will also help me solve new problems that are arising as I live a very interesting and active life here and mix much with the American colony.

In your absence, your friends and I are always ANXIOUS and DOUBTFUL about your plans and ideals. We shall be happy to talk over the matter with you.

There is no difficulty about the voyage. The French and Italian lines are both working regularly. And the railway journey in Europe is now quick and regular. I would advise you to take the French line and get a through ticket to Lausanne from New York. Of course you can judge best about these details.

Let not the Exposition detain you. You can return later to see the Exposition. And it is *more important* to come here, if you wish to carry on your lifework on the highest plane of activity.

I shall be permanently at X and shall be glad to help you.

Please don't talk to other people. Come quietly, if you come. Don't give your confidence to many people. It is entirely foolish and unnecessary. There will be no difficulty in finding work for you here to earn something. Don't be worried on that account.

I wish to impress on your mind that your coming here is EXTREMELY IMPORTANT from all standpoints. I see no reason (from my knowledge of the situation) why you should hesitate. Of course, new considerations may have arisen about which I don't know anything. In that case, please LET ME KNOW DEFINITELY NOW.

I am alright and busy. Work for India is also being done successfully in many directions. Good results are expected to follow. Let us wait. There are too many hindering circumstances though.

With best wishes and sincere esteem, yours sincerely,
Har Dayal

P.S. If you don't wish to see some people in Switzerland you need not see them. You can have a quiet intellectual life at Geneva or Lausanne or Zurich. There is an active feminist movement here. When do you want to publish those Pamphlets?⁹

Something of Har Dayal's involvement is evident in remarks he made to a colleague in a letter written between the two letters to Miss Hauswirth. He said: "I have postponed sending for my wife and child to some future occasion as it will not have a great social effect at present and people will begin to criticize."¹⁰ Two weeks later, Har Dayal was to write once more to Miss Hauswirth:

I don't know your plans now, but I guess that you want to go to India with some friends for your future work. The same silly old plan!

I write again today because, last evening, I received a letter from some of my best friends in California, which makes it absolutely necessary for me to know if you are coming now. You must remember that other people's interests are concerned in my plans, and I have to give them a definite

and final answer. So do what suits your personality, but please come now or write definitely that you do not wish to come. "Problems" are also arising locally

I expect to see you here before April 1 at the latest. Anyhow, I shall form my own plans on April 1 definitely and irrevocably, if you do not come by that date.

I have done my duty honorably in all respects, and I am tired of your queer ways and irresponsible methods. So the whole thing will be settled one way or the other by April 1. (According to the needs of your personality.)

If you have made other plans, do not come, then. I bid you goodbye and farewell, with best wishes for your welfare and happiness in life in all circumstances.

Yours always, sincerely,

Har Dayal¹¹

Miss Hauswirth finally responded to Har Dayal's importunings by telling him that she had made her decision once and for all; she was not coming and if he would tell her what to do with the \$200 he had sent to her for passage money, she would return it.¹² He curtly advised her of his banking connection, and there was no further correspondence.¹³

Miss Hauswirth's divorce from Arthur Munger was granted in December of 1915. In 1916 she accepted a position to teach school in India and secured a passport from the United States, but was refused entry by the British Government. She joined Sarangadhar Das in Hawaii, where he was making his home, and they were married there on June 13, 1917.¹⁴ She did get to India (as Mrs. Das) and published two books in the early 1930's about her work there. One recounted her experiences and the other reflected her interest in India's women.¹⁵

It might be added that Sarangadhar Das came closest to evaluating the relationship between his future wife and Har Dayal, whom he described as "an idealist, a philosopher and all that," But, he said,

he does not know what love is. He does not understand the difference between the fact that a woman may love the ideal in a man and still not wish to live with him, and the fact that a woman may love the man so much that she begins to love his ideal. He was ignorant to this extent; and one cannot blame him when one considers that he had had no previous experience. That was really love's first awakening in him. . . .

However from what happened later on I lost all respect for him. In his actions he showed that in theory he is an idealist, a feminist and all the other ists, but in practice just the contrary — a man without honor, a man trying by all means to subject a woman, body and soul. Since that time I have taken him for a scoundrel and have forgotten that I ever knew him. I never owed him anything, because his anarchistic philosophy is diametrically opposite to my socialistic philosophy.¹⁶

If this is a little hard on the Ghadr revolutionist, it must be remembered that Har Dayal himself had also diagnosed his feelings as those of one who had fallen in love. He was later to say that concepts of control, regulation, and segregation of the sexes — as reflected in the Hindu planned marriage system — created a situation in which a “respectable person in India is not supposed to fall in love, and he really cannot do so!”¹⁷ This may explain why the Frieda interlude seemed to him a “peculiar experience,” as he expressed it to his friend, Van Wyck Brooks, and why he seemed incapable of dealing with his emotions. His inability to control his physical responses to the attraction of Miss Hauswirth must have been overwhelming, especially in the light of his professed ascetic ideals. Miss Hauswirth, with more experience in these areas, was obviously right in assuming that Har Dayal had not gotten over his feeling for her. His persistence in the face of her lack of interest and his assurances of his saintly motives verge on hysteria, reflecting either a naiveté in man-woman relationships or a supreme self-confidence in his ability to win her over, ultimately.

PROPAGANDA FROM ABROAD

During the first few months that he was in Switzerland, Har Dayal did not resume his nationalist activities. He did, however, write to Brooks on June 16 that “our work in California goes on as before. I write from here for our paper there, and the boys are keeping up the printing establishment alright. I am very happy.” And Har Dayal expressed his views on “propagandist values” in the following words:

... I have come to the conclusion that all propaganda which is based on extreme assertions and ignorance is harmful. Propaganda, following *rational* understanding of causes and effects, is useful. I lean more towards Erasmus and Voltaire in emphasizing the necessity of “enlightenment,” (but combined with the propagandist’s clear-cut conclusions and fiery zeal). Such a combination is rare. And *if I were to choose*, I should rely more on enlightenment than passion. I approve of your attitude, and especially like your sentence, “I cannot see life merely as an alternation between exploitation and emancipation.” Exactly so. Life cannot be unilateral. And no one should cramp and narrow his life in that way. Of course, there are relative values, and I give the palm of honor to those who combat predatory and coercive institutions above all others, e.g., artists, poets, scientists, etc. That’s why I am a revolutionist first, and everything else afterwards. For we know that only through successive revolutions have a certain degree of comfort, knowledge and human dignity been secured by ever-expanding classes of society.¹⁸

It was not until mid-summer that Har Dayal renewed contact with his former colleagues in San Francisco and, in spite of what he said to

Brooks, his political propaganda continued to be more infused with passion than rationality. The July 14, 1914, issue of *Ghadr* headlined his message, "O Soldiers of the Ghadr!! O Stars of the Eyes of India!!" From Europe he reported that after six months of bombardment by *Ghadr*, "the British have commenced to tremble. Their papers are crying out that we are about to lose India. The name of your paper — *Ghadr* — and of the Ashram has spread throughout India and throughout the whole world."

He called attention to the fact that the paper was now published in Gujarati as well as Urdu and Gurmukhi, and was reaching "brothers living in China, Japan, Manila, Sumatra, Fiji, Java, Singapore, Egypt, Paris, South Africa, South America, East Africa, and Panama." He reminded his readers that "faithful servants are utilizing their education on your behalf and are gambling with their lives," and added: "From America the Sun of Liberty bursts forth. The world is astonished at this time at the work achieved by your courage, sacrifice and organization. So act in like manner as true servants with your body, wealth, and might and return quickly to your country to fight the enemy." He then assured the Ghadrites, "I am with you always, even until the end." A second contribution to *Ghadr* was shorter and to the point: entitled, "Two Things are Necessary," it called for "*Ghadr* and Guns."¹⁹

At about the same time these two articles were published, Har Dayal reappeared on the scene openly after what seems to have been a studied attempt to keep his whereabouts unknown to all but a few close friends and to deliberately cover his tracks. For example, several weeks after he had left America, his Ghadr colleagues were representing to the newspapers that Har Dayal had left for Portland, Oregon, and had intended to go from there to Washington, D.C., to present his case personally. They insinuated that the fact that he could not be found might indicate that he had met with foul play: ". . . British officials may have kidnapped him or employed someone to waylay him."²⁰ Despite this smokescreen laid down from San Francisco, U. S. officials knew that Har Dayal was in Switzerland (so his letter requesting his bond be returned did no more than confirm what they already had found out).²¹

Shyamaji Krishnavarma, who had by now renounced his nationalist activities and moved from Paris to Geneva, was not even aware, however, that Har Dayal was in Europe — much less in the same city — until August, at which time he sent him a note offering any help he could give. Har Dayal responded that he did not want money and that their differences were "irreconcilable." Others of Har Dayal's former European colleagues were equally unaware of Har Dayal's presence.²²

Har Dayal may have refused financial aid from Krishnavarma, but the two must have reconciled at the social, if not the political, level since

it was through the former host of India House that Har Dayal met Dowes Dekker in the early fall of 1914. Dekker was an Indian born in Java who had organized the Nationalist Indian Party in the then Netherlands East Indies, whence he had been banished by the Dutch. Har Dayal enlisted Dekker in the revolutionary movement, his function being to get Dutch passports for Indians and to distribute nationalist literature from Switzerland.²³ It was about this time that C.I.D. agents reported that Har Dayal had taken three rooms in a house in the suburbs of Geneva, "where he will make his headquarters for some time. He hopes to establish a branch of the *Yugantar Ashram* in Switzerland." The dichotomy continued, however, because they also reported that Har Dayal was engaged in writing a book on philosophy and was also studying Spanish.²⁴ War by now had broken out in Europe.

BERLIN INDIAN COMMITTEE

Although Har Dayal enjoys the reputation of having been a founder²⁵ of the Indian Committee of National Independence set up in Berlin shortly after the outbreak of World War I, he did not actually arrive in the German capital until the end of January, 1915. The best-documented account of the committee and of Har Dayal's relationship with it is that of Dr. Horst Krüger, deputy director of the Institute for Oriental Studies of the German Academy of Sciences in East Berlin. Dr. Krüger made use of the official German Foreign Office documents to piece together a coherent recital of Har Dayal's activities between 1914 and 1918.²⁶ As a result of the outbreak of World War I, Krüger says the Indian revolutionaries living abroad were confronted with a situation which they could exploit in their struggle for independence: "Berlin became the center of a far-reaching organization known as the Indian Nationalist Party and its chief unit, the Indian Committee of National Independence, used every means, in co-operation with the German government — the Foreign Office and the General Staff — to drive the English colonial lords out of India." The Indians were quick to subscribe to the view that "England's difficulty is our opportunity," and while "the Germans appear to have employed the members of the Indian party at first chiefly in the production of anti-British literature, which was as far as possible disseminated in all regions where it might be expected to do injury to Great Britain," the Indians themselves "envisioned an armed revolt in their homeland. To this end, they early (September 3, 1914) arrived at an understanding with the German government over the terms of collaboration: "It was agreed that the Indians would take a loan from the German government to be repaid after India's independence is achieved. The German government further agreed to supply arms and send orders to all their consulates abroad to

help Indian revolutionaries in their efforts, and to persuade the Sultan of Turkey to declare a *jihad* [holy war] against Britain.”²⁷

Dr. Bhupendranath Datta, the brother of Swami Vivekananda and the editor of the original *Yugantar*, says in his book, *The Unpublished History of India*, that the Indian Committee of National Independence was founded by Virendranath Chattopadhyaya and Abinashchandra Bhattacharya, but almost all other sources include Champak Raman Pillai as a founder, along with Har Dayal. Neither Har Dayal nor Pillai were in Germany when the war broke out, and it was then, says M. N. Roy, that Chattopadhyaya approached interned Indians studying in German universities and said that they could be released from internment if they joined him — as an added inducement, they were to get their doctoral degrees before they had finished their studies: “The original committee was thus set up.”²⁸ Roy makes no mention of Bhattacharya, who very shortly returned to India, to serve as an intermediary with revolutionaries in his native Bengal.

Virendranath Chattopadhyaya had been an early convert of Savarkar at India House, and his support of the Extremist cause was cherished because he was the brother of one of India’s most celebrated women poets, Sarojini Naidu, who had already achieved fame in the early years of the twentieth century. Mrs. Naidu, however, was identified with moderate elements within the Indian nationalist movement and once (1925) served as president of the Indian National Congress. In Krüger’s account of the committee and its work, Chattopadhyaya comes off as the strongest figure. This view is substantiated by Chandra Chakraborty, who subsequently became the representative of the “conspiracy” in the United States. He called Chatto, as he was more familiarly known, “one of the ablest revolutionists” he had known, whose relations with German government officials were cordial and friendly: “He never lowered the national dignity and self respect as a representative of India. He associated with the German Foreign Office as an ambassador and an ally to render mutual assistance during the war.”²⁹ For this he is faulted by Roy, who said that his anti-British activities during the war were more directed toward aiding the German, rather than the Indian, cause. It was for this reason that he held the “predominant position” among the Indians in Berlin. Roy further characterized him as a man “who seems to have been a bully.”³⁰

Champak Raman Pillai, a Madrasi, came to Berlin from Zürich, where he had been president of a group called the International Pro-India Committee, and publisher of a magazine, *Pro-India*, which was being circulated before the war. The British identified him as protégé of Sir Walter Strickland³¹ — a baronet severely critical of England’s imperialist policies, who renounced his citizenship after the war. To Roy, Pillai was not only the most colorful but the most conservative member of the committee. The

protégé of Count von Reventlow, he actually joined the ranks of the Pan-German Nationalist Party — “the only non-whiteman to have the honour; and Pillai, who had a shining black complexion, was proud of this distinction.” Something of a dandy, with “perfect drawing room manners,” he claimed close friendship with Hindenberg and Ludendorff — calling them by their first names.³²

The last named of “the famous trio of Pillai, Chattopadhyaya, and Har Dayal,”³³ did not arrive in Berlin until the committee had been in operation for almost five months. He had been preceded by one of his replacements on the editorial staff of *Ghadr*, a Muslim named Maulvi Barkatullah. A native of Bhopal (at that time a native state in the Rajasthan area), Barkatullah was a strong advocate of anti-British Pan-Islamism. In 1909 he became a member of the faculty of Tokyo University and edited a paper called the *Islamic Fraternity*. In 1911 he visited Cairo, Constantinople, and Saint Petersburg and was in communication with Shyamaji Krishnavarma, then in Paris. When Barkatullah returned to Japan, the tone of his writings became so anti-British that the paper was suppressed by the Japanese government in 1912. He eventually lost his teaching position and moved on to San Francisco, where he took over the Urdu edition of *Ghadr*, joining Ram Chandra, whom Har Dayal had designated to succeed him in Yugantar Ashram operations, including the editing of its newspaper. Shortly after the declaration of the war, Barkatullah left to join the Berlin Independence Committee, his fare having been paid by funds made available by the German consulate in San Francisco.

Another prominent member of the Ghadr party who joined the Berlin committee was the veteran nationalist, Tarak Nath Das, who had somehow managed to become a naturalized citizen of the United States in June 1914. The elder statesman of the group, Bhupendranath Datta, was the only member of the committee who had been actively engaged in nationalist politics in India. After he had served a prison term on charges of sedition, he left Calcutta and went to the United States, where, it has been suggested, he perhaps hoped to bask in the reflected glory of his illustrious brother, who had taken America by storm when he appeared at the World Parliament of Religions in Chicago in 1892.³⁴ Datta had not been associated with the Ghadr movement and had made his own arrangements with the Germans for passage to Berlin in the face of opposition from Ram Chandra, who wanted only Ghadr men to go. Besides Barkatullah and Tarak Nath Das, other members of the Ghadr Party in San Francisco who were at one time or another associated with the Berlin Committee were a Sikh, Bhagwan Singh, and Herambalal Gupta, who first represented the Committee in the United States. And there was also Khankhoje.

The president of the committee was a Muslim, Mohammed Mansoor

(Mansur Raham), who had gone to Germany to study philology on an Indian government scholarship. M. N. Roy says that the reason he was singled out as the titular head of the group was that the Germans "were inclined to give prominence to Muslims in their relations with India."⁸⁵ This, of course, is borne out by developments involving the Islamic world, with Dr. Mansoor being sent to Baghdad. Chattopadhyaya was the secretary of the committee, of which Germans were also members, including Max Baron von Oppenheim, who had long urged the exploitation of the Pan-Islamic movement to further German expansion in the Middle East, notably by means of the German-Baghdad railroad. He thought, however, more in terms of a Pan-Germanic movement which would include colonization of Asia Minor by German "master settlers." He was the founder of the information office for the Orient, whose task it was to produce propaganda. He hoped to utilize a "holy war" and Pan-Islamic propaganda as effective weapons for the "revolutionalization" of the Islamic world.⁸⁶

There were others, Germans as well as Indians, who were considered members of the Indian Revolutionary Committee but no two rosters are the same — beyond the key figures — indicative of a rather loose organization and changing personnel. Har Dayal himself said that there were about twenty-five Indians involved, all told. The real significance of this group, according to Gobind Behari Lal, was that "these Indian revolutionaries made great nations like Germany and their allies — Turkey and Austria and Bulgaria — recognize the concept of an Indian government in exile representing a free India. Nothing like this could happen in India; it was being done from the outside. There was an actual recognition of a free state in India." Those who remained in San Francisco, he added, considered themselves as also representing this free state: "There were not many of us in the *ashram* but we had a state-of-India flag over *Ghadr* headquarters."

Chakrabarty said that in Berlin the three-storied house occupied by the committee was "given us, as an embassy." Germany and her allies, he continued, "gave us assurance that they would not make separate treaty with Britain, France or Russia if no recognition was made of India as a sovereign state. The same assurance I later secured from Mexico and Venezuela and Guatemala, and we almost came to an understanding with China and Japan, if there was a favourable turn of events and we could partially liberate a part of India."⁸⁷

INTRIGUE IN CONSTANTINOPLE

While the Indian Committee of National Independence was being formed in Berlin, Har Dayal was in Constantinople. He had apparently gone there of his own volition and was the guest of Dr. Ahmed Fouad,

whom he had presumably known earlier in Paris. From there he wrote asking Ajit Singh to join him, but Ajit Singh had already left Europe for Africa. British intelligence reports say that Har Dayal intended to remain in Constantinople until the end of the war and he "did not appear to have been at this time in the pay of Germany. In fact, it is reported that when he was offered employment by an agent of the German Foreign Office, he replied that his anarchist principles forbade him to serve any government."³⁸

Further, the British claimed that in Constantinople Har Dayal "organized an attack on the Khedive of Egypt." He was also said to be on the staff of the *Shamsar* in Constantinople.³⁹ Intelligence reports do not identify this publication, but presumably it was pan-Islamic and anti-British. This conflicts with Germany Foreign Office reports which indicate that Baron Hans von Wangenheim, the German ambassador to Turkey had reported to Berlin that Har Dayal, as of September 10, 1914, was in Geneva and that he was in a position "to render valuable services" and was ready to do so. The baron's telegram further stated that if Har Dayal were compensated for traveling expenses, he would begin by coming to Constantinople "for the purpose of detailed consultation."⁴⁰ However it came about, the results of Har Dayal's consultation with German officials in Constantinople must have been satisfactory, as von Wangenheim wired the foreign office his acceptance of Har Dayal's plan to send a number of "resolute young Hindus" to head a thrust against India from Turkey, by way of South Persia and Baluchistan or Afghanistan. Records indicate that Har Dayal's work in Constantinople had "the undivided support" of members of the incipient Indian Independence Committee. In a secret memorandum for Har Dayal and von Wangenheim alone, the foreign minister reported on what was going on in Berlin and asked that Har Dayal's "plans and possible suggestions" be transmitted to his office. This, says Krüger, indicates the great value attributed to Har Dayal's judgment in Berlin.⁴¹

Things seemed to be moving along smoothly in Constantinople when Har Dayal, in the middle of October, 1914, left Turkey with a Turkish pass issued in the name of Ismail Hakki Hassan from Basra. This was not the first in a series of aliases and nationalities that the Hindu was to assume in his travels in Europe during the war years. Har Dayal's "mysterious disappearance for reasons known only to him" was noted by a fellow Indian revolutionary who had been working with Har Dayal in the plan to penetrate India from a Middle Eastern base.⁴² The Turks, says Krüger, feared betrayal, but Har Dayal had actually indicated that he intended to return to Geneva and was afraid that if he did not do so with reasonable dispatch, railroad connections through Rumania would be interrupted. Despite this, Berlin was "perplexed" by Har Dayal's sudden departure from Constantinople, and it was thought that perhaps he was planning to

return to the United States by the way of Italy. In the event that he showed up in Rome, the German ambassador there was told to cooperate with Turkish representatives in the Italian capital in inducing Har Dayal to return to Constantinople. At the same time, the German ambassador in Bern was directed to locate Har Dayal in Switzerland, should he be there, and to persuade him to proceed immediately to Berlin. The Germans did not forget to add that traveling expenses would be advanced "in abundance."⁴³

It soon became clear, Krüger adds, that "betrayal" was not the issue, but that Har Dayal's abrupt departure from Constantinople could probably be explained by his later complaints to the German consul-general at Geneva that he had received "arrogant and inconsiderate treatment" from German officials in Constantinople, "who had not 'given him sufficient hearing and had him wait daily for hours for a conversation.'" He also complained that his proposals had not been given due consideration in Constantinople and that there was therefore little purpose in his remaining there. He particularly singled out Baron von Oppenheim as having snubbed him.

There was another issue, and that was Har Dayal's insistence on Hindu pre-eminence. In a letter written in late November of 1914, Baron von Wangenheim addresses himself to accusations which Har Dayal had apparently written down: "The utterances of Har Dayal show that he is a man very much convinced of his own importance. I may not be permitted to go any further in a detailed fashion into the four accusations directed against German officials. They rest mostly upon erroneous viewpoints and false conclusions and a satisfactory solution would have been found for at least most of them here if Har Dayal had spoken more candidly." Baron von Wangenheim continued, "The chief motive for Har Dayal's actions seems in reality to have been the fear that because of the Turkish-Mohammedan character of the propaganda supported by the Germans and started from here, the Hindu element would be at the short end and he would not play the role he had in mind for himself."⁴⁴

By now it was becoming apparent that Har Dayal planned to have nothing more to do with the German involvement unless when he presented his plan of action, he would be in control. He wrote to Brooks, for example, on November 24, 1914: "I have been here in Switzerland, except for a trip to Constantinople and back, with five weeks' sojourn in that ancient and interesting city. Now I shall stay here for the remainder of the war-period."⁴⁵

As for his future plans, these were revealed in a letter to Barkatullah, who had by that time arrived in Berlin and was working with the committee. Har Dayal's opening shot was an expression of willingness to sever all connections with Shyamaji Krishnavarma, "if it is desirable as a national and moral duty." He called for unity among all Ghadr party workers, who "should not pursue different policies separately." He then proposed

an eight-page monthly in English, to be called the *United States of India*, and to be headquartered in San Francisco. The projected title, he said, would have the advantage of appealing to the Indians in the native states, as well as pleasing the American public, which, he added "will therefore be good for our safety." He said that any articles for the proposed publication should be sent to his "other address" in the United States, which he did not identify, and added that the monthly should have a large circulation among students in England. He planned to get things under way immediately after the close of the war and was confident that if there were any "legal trouble afterwards, we will overcome it; most probably no one will molest us." The *United States of India* did not become a reality until July, 1923, when it appeared under the sponsorship of the Pacific Coast Hindustani Association. In 1925, the name of the sponsoring party was changed to read, "the Hindustani Association or the Hindusthan Ghadr Party. Publication ceased in March, 1928. Har Dayal said that he had informed Ram Chandra of his intentions to return to the United States and concluded on the note that once he set up his paper, "all the bogus rascals will shut up of their own accord."⁴⁶ Har Dayal obviously still considered himself the key figure in Ghadr operations, even though he had temporarily removed himself from the United States. He planned to return to San Francisco and take up where he had left, anticipating a short war.

Although Har Dayal's plans to rejoin the American activity never materialized, the Ghadr movement continued to flourish until the United States entered World War I, when it became subject to much closer scrutiny by American intelligence agencies. It was virtually disbanded after the conspiracy trial in 1918 but was to rise again in the twenties with a totally different political complexion — red. This subjected it to investigation by a California legislative committee on un-American activities. Its later operations were centered in the peasants' movement in the Punjab, where some of the original Ghadrates, now very old men, continued to be active in leftist politics.

In spite of the Constantinople interlude, his contretemps with Miss Hauswirth, and his concern for his future role in the Indian nationalist movement, Har Dayal was still profoundly involved with his intellectual quest. This is evident in his correspondence with Van Wyck Brooks. The war, only four months along, was having its effect on his ideas and commitments. Toward the end of November 1914, he wrote:

I have been feeling rather queer lately — questioning the teachability of mankind, the doctrine of progress, of the use of sacrifice of enlightening others, (as distinguished from simplicity cultivated from enlightened hedonism), the relation of the mass to the elite, the problem of the elite, the relative value of propaganda by word and the monastic policy of setting

up a light. etc., etc. I think this war will also make a redistribution of intellectual and psychological landmarks. I believe theories of individualist Anarchism and monasticism will surely be enunciated. It is rather disheartening to find the XX century opening on dismal nationalism in Europe and on a strongly entrenched feudalism in America. What a contrast to the corresponding period of the XIX century. Will the next twenty years produce a Byron and a Shelley? I wonder. Political liberty, which was needed in the XIX century was a middle class ideal and so could easily find singers. But the poor proletariat, which now needs economic freedom, — it is hard for it to inspire a poet, as all the poets belong to the bourgeoisie. I don't know, but I think that the next half century will be marked by great reaction all round.

This war has been the grave of many reputations and movements. It is sad to see how the learned and wise men mingle in the strife. Learning should be above all such partisan blindness. I think Haeckel and all of them, among all nations, have cut a rather sorry figure. In USA, they are taking sides for the Triple Entente. I say, "a plague o' both of your houses!" It is a war of rival commercial groups. What have I or the poor people got to do with it?

I am reading as usual. Also wishing to write a book. Can't say if I shall summon up sufficient courage to start writing. Have improved in health on account of the quiet and regular life. Am reading on history of Free-thought and Atheism. Have made the acquaintance of several professors at the University. Can easily become a privat-docent here, but, after the imbroglio at Stanford, I have resolved not to connect myself with any regular institution. I am too erratic and explosive to be institutionalized, I think. It is best to remain a freelance.

. . . There have been good articles in the *New Review* of New York about the war. Here on the Continent sane thought is nonexistent. The issues are too vital to permit of detached reflection. People are for or against Germany. That is all. This town is violently pro-French. Much of what is being written in England is mere drivel. The Italian magazines are anti-German. No one has taken up any sociological standpoint, discussing the issues involved. It is rather disappointing to see that there is now no *philosophical class* in Europe, which should be able to take large views and interpret human interests. I feel cramped and choked in this atmosphere. Even Kropotkin has gone the way of the rest. I am afraid that the invasion of all the nooks and corners of intellectual life by patriotism bodes ill for the future of European thought. The race of Erasmus, Goethe, Marx, should not become extinct. The theory of national "cultures" is being heard of a great deal.⁴⁷

These were the words of a man who could only be drawn most reluctantly back into the Hindu-German conspiracy.

MEMBER OF THE CONSPIRACY

Har Dayal's apparent defection did not deter the German foreign office. As soon as Har Dayal was known to be back in Geneva, machinery was set in motion to induce him to join the Berlin Independence Com-

mittee, to return to the Turkish capital, and to work with the Germans there. Har Dayal must have had some qualities — or, perhaps, contacts — which were thought to compensate for what was believed to be his Hindu bias and his tendencies toward self-aggrandizement. As Krüger correctly discerned, “in the person of Har Dayal, on the one side, and that of von Oppenheim, on the other side, two exponents of two diametrically opposed ideological directions had collided. Already during the first months of the war it was shown that common opposition to England — springing, however, from completely different roots — was not sufficient to produce a permanent alliance between the two representatives.”⁴⁸

The clash, however, was not only between nationalism and imperialism — as represented by Har Dayal and von Oppenheim — but between Indian and German goals and different strategic concepts. The prospect of Indians starting armed rebellion against the British in India was secondary to German aims of dominance in the Middle East. It is virtually impossible to piece together the revolutionary activities of Indians who were spread all over the world, but their hope seemed to be to coordinate the various groups, working from both without and within, and to stage an armed revolt in North India, using arms and munitions supplied by the Germans. It was soon to become apparent that no one really knew what anybody else was doing, not when, nor why — except, perhaps, the British, whose spies and informers were equally as active all over the world. Even in those instances when the Germans made good their promises to supply direct aid to the Indians, they were working at cross purposes with respect to the revolutionaries.

Har Dayal may well have gotten more than an inkling of this in his relations with the Germans in Constantinople. It was obvious that he felt that he had made no commitment to join forces with them, or with the group in Berlin. He resisted the importunings of the German consul-general in Geneva but was sufficiently influenced by a telegram from Chattopadhyaya to let arrangements be made for a trip to Berlin. But an hour after Har Dayal had received his passport, some money, and a ticket, he sent everything back to the consul-general with a written explanation that he had changed his mind because he felt himself not suited for “practical activity,” and that he could do more for India by remaining in Switzerland and working independently as a writer. He maintained that his cooperation was not needed to carry on the Berlin operations. More important, he indicated that he had heard that if he went to Germany, he would have to remain there until the end of the war. Perhaps to allay his concerns in this area, the Germans now decided to send some committee members to talk to him. Accordingly, Chattopadhyaya arrived in Geneva, in company with a Muslim named Siddiqi. Har Dayal greeted them with a written critique of Germans and German activities in Con-

stantinople. (This apparently involved the "accusations" to which von Wangenheim had referred.)

Har Dayal sent the two emissaries back with the message that he preferred to remain in Switzerland for the time being and to see what kind of a response his written comments would receive. But before any answer was forthcoming, he told the harried German Consul-General in Geneva that he had reached a firm decision that he would go to Berlin, "neither now nor later," but indicated that he would cooperate by providing Germans with a list of names and addresses of Indians in the United States whom he felt should be called to Europe.⁴⁹ At about this time he wrote to the principal of Saint Stephen's College in Delhi asking for a certificate that he had passed certain examinations and had taught in the college for a short time in 1906. Even the British thought he was going to settle down in Geneva and devote himself to the intellectual pursuits he had discussed with Van Wyck Brooks.⁵⁰

According to Krüger, it was Barkatullah who finally persuaded Har Dayal to go to Berlin. Barkatullah had mentioned his earlier association with Har Dayal to Baron Otto Gunther von Wesendonk, the secretary in charge of the India section of the foreign office, so he was selected to go to Geneva, where he was successful in persuading Har Dayal to join the committee. Har Dayal arrived in Berlin on January 27, 1915, and was at work by the beginning of February. His importance was attested to by the fact that he was identified to the minister of war as "the leader of the Indian nationalists in Europe" at that time.⁵¹ By his own account, Har Dayal "worked earnestly . . . for what I believed to be the common cause of India and Germany."⁵² He took a leading role in all the German-supported plans and enterprises which were prepared and introduced during the course of his first year with the group. German officials, says Krüger, "paid the greatest attention to Har Dayal's opinion and did not hesitate to obtain it, if necessary, even by telegram."⁵³

Har Dayal's major function with the Berlin Indian Committee in his early weeks in the German capital was to arrange for Indian participation in a proposed German-Indian mission to Kabul, the capital of Afghanistan. The Indian selected to head the mission was Raja Mahendra Pratap — a prince without a principality, his family having been granted the title for loyalty to the British at the time of the 1857 mutiny. Unlike his forebears, Mahendra Pratap had early involved himself in nationalist activities, having taken the vow of swadeshi. He had also dedicated himself to the service of his country by donating one of his palaces and a portion of his income to the establishment and maintenance of a free "technical and literary" school at Brindaban (the Great School of Love).

At the beginning of the war, he left his family and came to Europe, determined to do his part for India. In Geneva he met Shyamaji Krishnavarma and Har Dayal, who suggested he go on to Berlin. This he refused to do unless an audience with the Kaiser be arranged; in time, this was managed.

Har Dayal had by now only just begun his work with the committee, so it was Chattopadhyaya who was sent to Geneva to escort the "prince of India" to Berlin. He arrived on February 10, 1915, and left for Constantinople, the point of departure for the mission, two months later. Barakatullah, who was to accompany the raja to Kabul, had already been dispatched to the Turkish capital, where he would be joined by Har Dayal, who wrote, reassuringly: "Be easy in your mind. All other arrangements will be made after my coming."⁵⁴ Mahendra Pratap was to follow Har Dayal, stopping over in Vienna, where he had an interview with the ex-khedive of Egypt.

In view of Har Dayal's earlier experience in Constantinople, it was apparently deemed advisable to smooth the way for the second trip. The German foreign minister, in a dispatch to the German ambassador there, said, "I beg your excellency to support Mr. Har Dayal in every way and to recommend him most heartily to the Turkish government, as well as provide that corresponding directions be given German consulates that would come into consideration. Har Dayal belongs among the leading personalities of the Indian Nationalist movement and we have had the most favorable experience with him here."⁵⁵

Har Dayal did his work well so that when the raja arrived he was received with honor and had interviews with the caliph and other high Turkish officials, including Enver Pasha, the minister of war. Mahendra Pratap's function in the conspiracy was "to disaffect the rule of Afghanistan and to foment revolution in Northern India."⁵⁶

The mission having gotten underway in May,⁵⁷ Har Dayal resumed his propagandist activities. He had by no means severed his connection with the Yugantar Ashram, having prepared a pamphlet for publication in San Francisco entitled, *Naya Zemana* (*New Era*). In the May 10 issue of *Ghadr* there was an announcement that a notice had been received from the San Francisco postmaster that the pamphlet should not be sent to India, as the British government had made a complaint about it to the government of the United States.

Another pamphlet, entitled *An Appeal*, jointly authored by Har Dayal and Ram Chandra, was intercepted by the British at about this time. The "appeal" was to Indians abroad, urging them to return to India and spread "correct information about the war and how the tyranny of England

and Russia will be increased if they are victorious. Rich men are asked to pay the passage money of their poorer brethren and are promised that their generosity will be recorded in the history of their country."

Har Dayal now wanted to make Constantinople the base for future publications and wrote to a member of the Pro-India Committee in Zurich to send on to him all the back numbers of Mme. Cama's *Bande Mataram* (which he, himself, had earlier edited) and all pamphlets issued by the Indian nationalists in Berlin.⁵⁸ Almost as soon as he had arrived in Constantinople for the second time, Har Dayal reported with some enthusiasm to the committee members back in Berlin: "The situation here convinces me of the great importance of Constantinople as a centre of future work. Enver Pasha is inclined to value Hindus. . . ."

He then made a proposal which was to be a source of serious concern to German officials and to create a rift between the Hindus and Muslims working with them. The year before, a newspaper supported by the Turkish government and intended to strengthen Pan-Islamic ties began publication in Constantinople. Called *Jehan-i-Islam* (*Spirit of Islam*), it contained articles in Arabic, Turkish, and Urdu. Its success was marked by the fact that it was almost immediately proscribed, its importation into India being prohibited because of its violent anti-Christian tone. Abu Saiyad, a Punjabi, edited the paper, and during his first trip to Constantinople Har Dayal had been especially friendly with him and had written a leading article for the newspaper. Now, however, Har Dayal proposed that Turkish government support of the publication be withdrawn and that it be entirely in Indian hands:

I think we should seize the first opportunity of bringing it under the control of our Party . . . I shall submit a plan for the transfer of the paper and Govt. subsidy from Abu Saiyad to a Nationalist Committee (not necessarily located in Constantinople), composed of prominent Nationalists . . . I shall establish a Press here as a visible sign of Nationalist activity. Then the transfer of the paper to us will be easier, when Enver Pasha sees that the Nationalist Party is already at work here. Will soon publish leaflets, etc. . . .⁵⁹

Har Dayal's proposals met with strenuous objection not only from the Germans but from the Muslims working with them. The director of the news bureau for the Orient said that Har Dayal should have recognized *Jehan-i-Islam* had its own readership and reputation:

It is alluring to appropriate this organ now because of the lack of a similar Indian nationalistic one, but to support the Indian Committee in this enterprise from the German point of view would lead to conflict with the Pan-Islamic circle close to the Sheik Saleh, so much the more if the intention is to push out the mighty Indian co-worker, Abu Saiyad, who

is fully fluent in Arabic and who is highly esteemed by the Sharifs. The Indians should create their own independent Nationalist organ in Constantinople!⁶⁰

The spokesman for the Muslims in Berlin was Abdul Djabbar Khairi, who was well thought of by the German foreign office. He said that any tension between the Muslims and Hindus would bring committee activities to a halt and that he was willing to play a conciliatory role but that he did not anticipate that the Hindus would "suppress their hostility" toward Muslims. These remarks were extremely upsetting, and Virendranath Chattopadhyaya was asked to bring his influence to bear to convince Khairi that the Berlin Indian Committee was not pursuing "anti-Islamic hostile tendencies" but wanted "to bridge the existing opposition to free India altogether." Khairi said that Har Dayal had insulted the Muslims in Constantinople by his "all-too-sharp emphasis of the Hindu emphasis." Krüger says that although Har Dayal had brought the communal issue out in the open, the friction was not wholly Hindu-inspired: "Certainly among the Indian Mohammedans sojourning in Turkey there already existed an inclination to treat newly-arriving fellow countrymen as undesirable intruders and to oppose them on supposedly religious grounds."⁶¹

It seems highly unlikely that Har Dayal's suggestion that the Indian nationalist movement take over *Jehan-i-Islam* was motivated solely on communal grounds. He had come a long way from 1908, as his emphasis on Hindu-Muslim unity in his writings and organizational activities in the United States attest. He had developed close friendships with men like Barkatullah, for example, and had urged Hindu prisoners of war "to make common cause with the Mussalmans in order to rid India of the British." This was in the early months of his stay in Berlin.⁶² It seems more likely that he simply wanted to remove the publication from Turkish jurisdiction and expunge its Pan-Islamic aspects. He felt very strongly that each national group should fight for its own independence and that Pan-Islamism was "a fraud and a hoax," as well as "one of the most curious farces of the last decade."

As for control of the movement, he said later that "the Turks, as a nation, are utterly unfit to assume the leadership of the Muslim world." He called it an "evil day" when the caliphate was entrusted to the Ottomans and went on to say, categorically, that the Turks had no brains. To substantiate this, he averred that they had never produced a "great or noble literature," as had the other rulers of empires. Thus, they lacked "the spiritual sign and symbol" of their political success, which, in almost every case, had led to "the complete self-expression of a gifted nation in literature, art and philosophy." The Turks could not "sing or speculate"

as they were "very low in the scale of mental evolution." As a clincher, he pointed out that the Turks could not even learn from those they conquered: "... the Turkish mind has been a barren soil which has brought forth nothing but the thorns and thistles of superstition and ribaldry. History has clearly demonstrated that the Turk has no intellectual potentialities." Indians simply could not follow the leadership of the incompetent Turk, "helpless on account of his mental inferiority."⁶³

This is not only a savage indictment of the Turk, but a statement of Har Dayal's criterion of leadership, and his association of intellectual capacity with political activity. Discussing the "brutality" and "depravity" of the Turks, he said, "If this be Islam, I should blush for the faith of 70,000,000 of my fellow Indian citizens," and "If the Muslims of India wish to appear in company with their Hindu brethren on the public platform of the civilized world, they must first wash their hands clean of Ottomanism in all its shapes and disguises. The Turkish system of ruling by massacre and rape is neither Islamic or national; it is pure, unadulterated Ottoman savagery, worthy of Chengiz Khan and Halaku. We cannot make common cause with such marauders simply because they live east of Suez and profess Islam." Each national unit, he said, should concern itself with its own problems:

The Muslims of India, Egypt, Java and Persia should learn that they must look after the affairs of their own countries in a practical spirit instead of dreaming of the Caliphate. There is nothing but dirt, and dead dogs, and scheming rascals in Stamboul. It is only distance that lends enchantment to the view in this case. Each Muslim nation should organize itself, and also, of course, every Muslim's duty lies at home, in the corner of the world where he is born.

Nowhere in the twenty-six pages in which Har Dayal discussed his experiences in Constantinople in the spring and summer of 1915⁶⁴ did he attack Islam as a religion. His rather oblique explanation of Hindu-Muslim friction is based not on the incompatibility of the respective religions but on the fact that the Indian Muslims in Turkey were not representative of those in India:

The Indians resident in Turkey are generally wanderers or adventurers, who are not held in high esteem. A few old men live in the "taikya" (the poor-house). Some of them have married Turkish wives and speak Hindi mixed up with Turkish. They have lost touch with the Mother Country. They are almost always quarreling among themselves from jealousy and selfishness. The Turkish Government has set apart a few pounds a month for Indian propagandists; and there is a general scramble for this prize of indolent charlatanism. Invitations to dinner at the houses of some influ-

ential Turks also furnish an occasion for explosions of personal jealousy and uncharitableness. Nothing can be hoped for from this set.

As for Islam, Har Dayal bracketed it with Hinduism and Buddhism as a religion which would pass away: "A new heaven and a new earth will be fashioned in the future, but not out of the *debris* of outworn creeds and formulae." Then, in the familiar vein of his injunctions to Hindus, he urged the educated Muslims "to take the lead in assimilating modern modes of thought. This is not the time to live and die by dispensations which were great and new forces centuries ago. Prophets may come and prophets may go, but Humanity goes on forever in pursuit of truth and virtue. The Muslims should also advance with the times, and must not 'attempt the future's portals with the past's blood-rusted key.' "

Har Dayal's contempt for the Turks, disbelief in the principle of Pan-Islamism, and scorn for the Indian Muslims associated with the movement in Constantinople, coupled with his already-expressed indications of wounded *amour-propre* at the hands of the Germans was not a combination that boded success for his mission. By the end of August, 1915, he had left the Turkish capital for Budapest, where, he said, he wanted to consult with agents before they were put to work. He never returned to Constantinople, nor did he explain why he had decided to leave.

Ernst Prince zu Hohenloe-Langenburg, who was the acting German ambassador to Turkey during the summer of 1915, reported that nothing had been done to hold Har Dayal back when he decided to go to Budapest. Actually, he said, the idea had been weighed to ask the foreign office "to remove Har Dayal from here [Constantinople] in as inconspicuous a manner as would be possible." Thus it would seem that the Germans in Constantinople had little regret over Har Dayal's departure. Krüger says that German cooperation with Har Dayal "had taken place in an extremely correct form," so there seemed no grounds for complaint on that score. Von Hohenloe suggested that the most likely reason for Har Dayal's departure was his "realization that he could not procure in Constantinople any suitable activity for his capacities and his ambition may have primarily determined Har Dayal to look for a more successful field of labor." He added that "among other Hindus there existed great irritation against Har Dayal, which was directed particularly against the intolerant and self-assertive manner of his conduct of the business." This seems to be substantiated in a letter written by members of the Berlin Indian Committee to the foreign office official charged with liaison with the Indians:

Har Dayal was deputed by us to take charge of the work in Turkey, and it was our intention that a strong executive committee should be formed in

Constantinople to guide and control the whole propaganda there. Unfortunately, however, Mr. Har Dayal failed to organize the work in Turkey and no programme at all was submitted by him to the Turkish Government without whose help and sympathy no work in Turkey can succeed....⁶⁵

THE ABORTIVE REVOLUTION

During the spring and summer of 1915, while Har Dayal was in Constantinople, the revolutionary movement which he had set in motion in San Francisco reached its climax in India. Actually, Har Dayal's departure from the Turkish capital coincided almost to the day with Sir Michael O'Dwyer's announcement that the Ghadr rebellion in the Punjab had been crushed.⁶⁶ Perhaps it was in the hope of salvaging this quixotic militant effort that Har Dayal had asked the Germans that summer whether it would be possible for him to return to the United States "without trouble." By that time, however, he may have realized that it was too late, as no further mention was ever made of the matter. While Har Dayal had called for armed revolt in his various articles in *Ghadr*, he always spoke of it as an event in the indefinite future. He had been finding it increasingly difficult, however, to hold his impatient followers in check and now the "action wing" of the Ghadr party had begun to function. An incident occurred shortly after Har Dayal left the United States which unleashed the Sikhs and Punjabis who, by the end of 1914, started pouring into India from Canada and the West Coast of the United States to take up arms against the British.

Cruise of the *Komagata Maru*

The "action wing" of the Ghadr party had been primarily inspired to organize because of pending anti-Hindu legislation in the United States Congress and existing legislation in Canada, which was designed to curb unrestricted immigration of Indians, the latest of which was a six months embargo placed on the entry of all Indian laborers into Canada.⁶⁷ In Hongkong, a wealthy Sikh trader from Singapore, Gurdit Singh, formed the Guru Nanak Navigation Company and chartered a Japanese ship, the *Komagata Maru*, in a move to test or to challenge Canadian immigration restrictions — the verb depending on whether the account is Indian or Canadian. Despite efforts by the Hongkong authorities to prevent its sailing, the ship left Hongkong on April 4, 1914, making intermediate stops to pick up passengers at Shanghai, Kobe, and Yokohama. En route, anti-British lectures were delivered and Ghadr material freely circulated in order "to create a spirit of defiance."⁶⁸ When the *Komagata Maru* arrived at Vancouver on May 23, there were 376 passengers aboard, overwhelmingly Sikhs. Local authorities, backed by Ottawa, refused landings to all but a few passengers.

The ship was not brought into the docks for fear the passengers might jump ship, so for two months it was anchored in the roads while Gurdit Singh tried unsuccessfully to land his people. His cryptic statement on arrival echoed the theme developed by Har Dayal: "The main object of our coming is to let the British Government know how they can maintain their rule in India as the Indian Government is in danger nowadays." This was interpreted to mean that if Canada admitted his passengers, all would be well in India. If not, there would be trouble.⁶⁹

On Saturday, July 18, the Japanese captain of the *Komagata Maru* reported to harbor officials that he had been preparing to depart when the Indian passengers aboard took control of the ship in a virtual mutiny. At one o'clock on the morning of July 19, a sea-going tug, the *Sea Lion*, set out for the ship with 120 policemen and 40 special immigration officials aboard, led by the police chief and four police inspectors. They hoped to free the crew and protect the engineers until they could get up enough steam to take the ship out to sea on its homeward voyage. The tug, which rode 15 feet lower than the *Komagata Maru*, made a serious tactical mistake by coming close enough to tie up to the steamer with a grappling hook. The Indians — many of them battle-seasoned veterans — were ready. They successfully defended the *Komagata Maru* with a fusillade which included lumps of coal, bricks, pieces of scrap metal, and chunks of concrete out of the boiler seatings. They had also made clubs for themselves and spears, which they launched with careful aim.

To those aboard the *Sea Lion*, "It was like standing underneath a coal chute." Forty men aboard the tug were injured, and much of its superstructure was shattered. The Canadians withdrew, and the Indians' "triumphant howls and their taunts in the liquid languages of Hindustan carried far over the Burrard inlet."⁷⁰ And why not, said an official who was there: "They thought they had defeated the whole British Army, and rejoiced accordingly."⁷¹

It was a victory for the Hindus and an unnerving experience for the Canadians. Until the *Komagata Maru* sailed four days later, harbor boats and navy vessels formed a picket around the steamer, keeping, however, at a respectful distance. A cruiser, which had been speedily recommissioned and armed with two six-inch and six four-inch guns, stood ominously by.

While the *Komagata Maru* was on the high seas on its return trip, the European war broke out, and the would-be Indian immigrants were not permitted to land at either Hongkong or Singapore. Instead they had to go on with the ship to Calcutta, many of them against their wills, as they came primarily from the China coast and Japan. When the ship docked at Budge Budge on the morning of September 29, there was a special train

(and a body of police escorts) waiting to take the passengers to the Punjab, free of charge.

The government had been informed that Gurdit Singh and his followers were in a bad mood. This was correct advice. Stubborn and sulky, they refused to enter the train and decided to march on Calcutta as a body. They were finally forcibly turned back, but only 60 of the passengers would get on the train and this included the 16 Muslims in the group. Eighteen Sikhs were killed in the riot and most of the rest were arrested then, or subsequently. Gurdit Singh and 28 others got away. Most of those arrested were freed four or five months later when the British felt that the back of the Ghadr revolt was broken. Officials were both disturbed and alarmed to find that many of the Sikhs had been armed with American-made revolvers.

Mobilization in America

In San Francisco *Ghadr* began the clarion call for mobilization as soon as the *Komagata Maru* was turned back. Its editors seized upon the naval victory at Vancouver to insist that Indians return to their homeland and continue the battle. On August 4, 1914, headlines read: INDIA IS OUR BATTLEFIELD; THE BRITISH ARE OUR ENEMIES. The story which followed gleefully reported:

The famous *Gaelic-American* of New York says concerning the Indians of the *Komagata Maru* that the fight that the Canadian Hindus have recently put up against the British government is much to be lauded, but more to be lauded is the fact that the Hindus of Canada should leave for India to expel the British from there. The sooner the emigrants of the *Komagata Maru* and the Hindus of Canada return to India, the better. The Hindu leaders should instigate the Hindus of Canada and Africa to return to India and fight the British. First they should free India and become worthy sons of the Mother Country and then their dignity will be established throughout the world. In truth, all the Hindus of America, Canada, Africa and other foreign parts should at once return to India and mutiny.⁷²

The fact that war had broken out in Europe was by no means ignored, and in another article in the same issue the theme was expanded and continued:

O warriors: The opportunity that you have been searching for has come, that is, the Trumpet of War has sounded; the war has started; you lie sleeping here. Do you know what is happening in the world? Listen and understand and get ready quick. Don't delay a moment. The whole world gazes on your faces, which are like that of opium eaters. You cannot regain opportunities lost. Do now what you have to do and later do not cry over spilt milk. Haven't you found out yet what has happened? War has started between Germany and England. Now is the chance for India's freedom.

This news is so important that we will give you a short narrative of it. The entire nations of Europe are divided in two parties. On one side is Germany, Italy and Austria, on the other side, Russia, England and France. War has started between these two parties. All Britain's land and naval forces will fight against Germany. Therefore, all the white troops in India will have to leave. This is the right time for you to start a war of freedom. You can very soon expel the British from India. O brethren take your freedom now. If not, you will remain slaves forever. Warriors, if you start to mutiny now you will put an end to the British Government, because on one side Germany will attack her and on the other you will attack her. If you do not do this, Germany alone will find it very difficult to do and it is possible that by the end of the war the baser born English will become more powerful. So, beloved, raise your hands and start the mutiny. Go to India and incite the native troops. Preach the mutiny openly. Take arms from the troops of the native states, and wherever you see the British kill them. If you do your work quickly and intelligently, there is hope that Germany will help you. Get help from Nepal and Afghanistan. Start the war quick. Don't delay. Remember that the Mutiny of 1857 began on a like opportunity and the British troops had gone out of India to fight. Again such an opportunity has arrived. So make haste.⁷³

Ghadr sounded its own trumpet of war with the following lines underscored:

Enough! Wake, O Hindus and rub your eyes. Open your minds. Store your wealth in the *Ghadr* office and register your name in the army of the *Ghadr*. Cleanse your blood. How long will you remain seated in lethargy? Be ready to spring like tigers.⁷⁴

In the following week's issue there appeared an advertisement, perhaps the most quoted of the *Ghadr* pronouncements:

WANTED

Fearless, courageous soldiers for spreading mutiny in India.

Salary: Death

Reward: Martyrdom and Freedom

Place: The Field of India.⁷⁵

These vigorous exhortations constantly flowing from the columns of the *Ghadr* stirred the Indians abroad to action, while the Budge Budge incident had the same effect in India. The official investigation of subsequent revolutionary activities pointed out that the *Komagata Maru* "business" left many Sikhs with the idea that the government was prejudiced against them and this, in turn, strengthened the hand of the *Ghadr* party, which in its paper continued to urge the overseas Sikhs to return to India and join the "mutiny" that was about to begin. More than 8,000 in Can-

ada, the United States, the Philippines, Hongkong, and China heard the call and hastened to their homeland.⁷⁶ Asked to confirm this estimate of emigrants who returned, Gobind Behari Lal said, "If the British give that number, then it is correct. They kept the records; we didn't." Thus, before Har Dayal had even made up his mind to join the "conspiracy," members of the Ghadr party, including both the propaganda and action wings, were taking giant strides toward armed revolution, with little or no concern for the strategy being worked out in Berlin in cooperation with the German foreign office and the German high command.

Ghadr Plot in the Punjab

One of the most important individuals among the returning Indians was the Mahratta Brāhman, Vishnu Ganesh Pingale, who had early associated himself with Khankhoje and the militant approach to the solution of India's nationalist problems. Pingale arrived in India in November of 1914 and almost immediately joined forces with Rash Behari Basu (Bose), then the leading revolutionary in the country.

Rash Behari's record of involvement with extremist activities extended back to 1908, when Har Dayal was active as a "political missionary" in northern India. The two never met, but Rash Behari, the following year, joined forces with Amir Chand and J. M. Chatterjee and others who had been associated with Har Dayal. Rash Behari openly claimed to have thrown the bomb which wounded Lord Hardinge and was also suspected of complicity in later Lahore bombings. He escaped capture and remained an active coordinator in the revolutionary movement, with his headquarters at Benares, considered the safest place he could be because police found it almost impossible to trace an address or locate a Bengali once he had disappeared within his own *tola* (quarter). From his hiding place, Rash Behari dispatched the returning patriots to different revolutionary centers which had been established and gave them their assignments. He sent Pingale to take charge in the Punjab and also assigned a Bengali, Sachindranath Sanyal to this area. After brief and secret meetings with revolutionaries in North India, both returned to Benares, where, in early January, 1915, they set February 21 as the date for simultaneous uprisings from Lahore to Dacca.⁷⁷

The grand strategy had called for Germans to supply arms, ammunition, and funds to the revolutionaries in India, but the Bengalis and Punjabis were running far ahead of their European allies. To make up for the lack of money and matériel, both groups "applied the indigenous method" and turned to "political dacoity." In twelve actions in East Bengal and two in Calcutta, the Bengalis "gained" a total of Rs. 59,410. In the Punjab,

a railway station was attacked, and in a village in the Hissar district, "a pro-British rich man had to part with Rs. 22,000 to replenish the national liberation treasury."⁷⁸ There were fourteen or fifteen other attacks, including a raid on the treasury of a subdivision in the Ferozepore district, where the dacoits "had a serious encounter with the police and the villagers. Two men on the side of the *Ghadr* were killed in the fight; seven were arrested; and the remaining escaped."⁷⁹ All of these were considered legitimate actions in the interests of the country and the revolution.

As the day for the uprising neared, Rash Behari went first to Amritsar to direct activities at the western end of the planned explosive chain and then moved on to the anchor spot at Lahore. From there, he sent men to various military cantonments in this Upper India area to enlist military aid on the appointed day. He also tried to organize gangs of villagers to take part in the rebellion.

The British reported: "Bombs were prepared; arms were got together; flags were made ready; a declaration of war was drawn up; instruments were collected for destroying railways and telegraph wires."⁸⁰ This, however, does not capture the excitement that prevailed. To the Indians, "It was a very hectic time, enthused with a spirit and courage never seen before. Villages of Punjab were willing to join voluntarily in the uprising. Plans were well ahead to raise regiments of peasants. There was no dearth of arms and ammunition." Sachindranath Sanyal had been dispatched to take charge of the revolutionary centers in the east. Everything was ready.

Maro firangi ko (Kill the foreigner!), was the battle cry, referring specifically to the British, thought to be distracted by the European war. Their troop strength in India (as in 1857) had fallen to its lowest level. It was an opportunity not to be denied. The first targets would be British officials — military and civil. Then political prisoners would be released, "treasuries would be looted; the army camps would be mobbed; and from there they would secure stores, arms and ammunitions; the telegraph lines would be cut off; and then after entrusting the loot-arms, weapons and ammunitions and funds to local cells, the leaders would rally in all their strength in the Punjab which was ready to give fight for one full year."⁸¹ The cutting of the telegraph wires all down the line would be the signal for revolution.

But, as one revolutionary put it so poignantly and so succinctly, "Yet, alas!"⁸²

Once the signal had been agreed upon for the start of the revolution, it was necessary to communicate with leaders in the far-flung centers where the simultaneous uprisings were planned. One of these messages fell into the hands of an informer, who relayed the information to the British. Rash Behari's headquarters in Lahore was raided two days before the uprisings

were to take place. And so began the tragic collapse of the rebellion. The British now had all the details of the plot and immediately warned cantonment commanders and civil authorities to take necessary precautions. Indian guards were replaced with English soldiers, and all military personnel were recalled to their bases.

When February 21 dawned, British tommies, with arms drawn, patrolled the streets in the towns where treasuries were located: "Lahore, Delhi, Ambala, Ferozepore all gave the self-same look of the preparedness of the British government to resist any eventuality or uprising. This unexpected show of English soldiery in places and towns where they were not expected to be seen, made the common workers of the Ghadr nervous. Even the leaders and captains of the Ghadr team became doubtful about the outcome. . . ." And well they might be. The most disheartening aspect of the whole thing was the inability of the Ghadrites to suborn the Indian troops and, equally, their inability to inspire the peasantry to act. In addition to the show of force, the British rounded up as many of the leaders as they could: "The movement was smothered before it could burst in full fury." Kartar Singh, of whom Gobind Behari Lal had spoken so highly, was one of Rash Behari's most trusted lieutenants. He rushed to the secret headquarters to find his leader "listless, sinking in his cot with the disastrous blow which had smashed all of his dreams of Revolution to pieces." Rash Behari did pull himself together and managed to escape from Lahore to Japan, where he was to spend the remainder of his life. Pingale also fled Lahore but could not believe that the revolution need be a total failure. He attempted to go through with plans to attack the cantonment at Meerut but was captured and subsequently hanged. As for Bengal, Sachindranath Sanyal waited all day for the signal that the rebellion was under way. It was not until the evening papers were out that he learned of "the disastrous drop of drama. His heart sank in despair." These and the foregoing are the words of Balshastri Hardas, whose reconstruction of the abortive revolution is by far the most comprehensive and the most movingly told.⁸³

Although the rebellion had failed, the returned emigrants who had escaped arrest continued their revolutionary activities, spreading propaganda on the university campuses and in the military cantonments. It was not until August, 1915, that the Ghadr rebellion was crushed in the Punjab. A total of 12 special tribunals tried 175 accused. Of this number, 136 were convicted; 38 to be hanged, a similar number to be transported for life, and the remainder sentenced to imprisonment or transportation for shorter periods. Lord Hardinge commuted the sentences of 20 who had been marked for hanging, their sentences being changed to transportation for life. One of these was Bhai Parmanand, who hardly deserved the role as-

signed him by the British as the "link between the disaffected section of the Hindu intelligentsia and the Sikhs of the Ghadr Party."⁸⁴

If there was such a "link," it would have more properly been Pingale or Kartar Singh. Throughout all the British accounts and indictments, Har Dayal is cited as the instigator of the abortive rebellion for his part in urging the Indians in the United States and Canada to return to their motherland and challenge the British. His position "as the high priest of anarchy and revolution was unchallenged and unassailable," said one British intelligence report.⁸⁵ Another said that the returning emigrants had been "indocctrinated with . . . ideas of equality and democracy in America and led to believe by Har Dayal . . . that India can be made into a Utopia in which all will be equal, and plague and famine cease to exist by the simple expedient of driving out the British."⁸⁶ Dharmavira asks, "How could he manage to do that?" and then answers:

With the patience that is genius Har Dayal carved figures for the temple of freedom and life and chiselled Beauty's perfect grace through the magic of sacrifice against which all the armies and navies of Empire and Capitalists are quite helpless. He sacrificed wealth, he sacrificed health, he sacrificed love, he sacrificed life itself. He gave himself and won the world. He, too, could have said, "I have annihilated myself completely." No wonder that the people who recited the doings of Har Dayal in America held him to be the "Liberator of India" and called him "Maharaj Har Dayal." With an inner satisfaction that they were doing their duty to the mother country, those thousands left for India knowing full well that death awaited them there. As taught by Har Dayal they rejected reptile prudence and undertook the sacred mission in a religious spirit.⁸⁷

Although the figures which Har Dayal carved proved not to be as heroic as perhaps he anticipated, it must be said for those members of the Ghadr party who did not withdraw from the movement in despair after the February fiasco that continued propaganda was effective in suborning at least one squadron of a Sikh regiment which was, however, sent to the Western Front shortly after the main body of the regiment had been dispatched because "in time of war it was not thought advisable by the military authorities to have a court-martial which would make public mutinous preparations." But before the squadron left India, bombs which had been secreted went off, and a court-martial had to be held. A total of 18 men in the regiment were sentenced to death, and 12 were executed.⁸⁸

After the war was over and the "conspiracy" had been almost forgotten, Gobind Behari Lal met Sir James Houssemayne DuBoulay, long-time secretary of the government of India home department. "He startled

me by saying that the Amritsar Massacre (Jallianwala Bagh, April 13, 1919) could be traced to the *Ghadr* movement," Lal recalls. "He said that the British fired because they had been frightened by our propaganda written in San Francisco. I had never thought of it that way. If we had achieved that much, to make those idiots believe, then we had done something. They took us seriously, so seriously that they blew our heads off."

German Plot in Bengal

In spite of the disarray in the Punjab, revolutionaries in Bengal still had hopes of fomenting a successful uprising there, and they moved to secure arms and ammunition from the Germans. Accordingly, a youthful M. N. Roy (then known as Narendra Nath Bhattacharya) was dispatched to Djakarta (then known as Batavia) to make contact with the German consul there. He was told that a consignment of 30,000 rifles, with 400 rounds of ammunition for each, was en route from the United States and that these arms would be made available to the Bengali revolutionaries, along with two *lakhs* of rupees (Rs. 200,000). The arms were allegedly aboard the *S. S. Maverick*, a tanker formerly owned by the Standard Oil Company, which had been purchased, repaired, and outfitted for the voyage with German funds that also provided the salaries of the crew. The total outlay was estimated to be in the neighborhood of \$166,000.⁸⁹

The *Maverick*, sailing under a United States flag, cleared San Francisco on April 22, 1915, for the Socorro Islands, off the west coast of Mexico, where the arms were to be transferred to that ship from the schooner, *Annie Larsen*. The master of the *Maverick* "had been instructed to stow the rifles in one of the empty oil tanks and flood them with oil, and stow the ammunition in another tank, and in case of urgent necessity to sink the ship."⁹⁰

These precautions were never acted on, because the two ships did not make connections. The *Annie Larsen* arrived at the rendezvous and remained there until April 10, 1915, unaware that the *Maverick* had not yet left San Francisco. From the Socorro Islands, the *Annie Larsen* proceeded to Acapulco, where contact was made with the German consulate at San Francisco. The schooner was instructed to return to the Socorro Islands, which it did, only to miss connections again. In late June the schooner docked at Aberdeen, Washington, where the cargo was seized by United States authorities. The German ambassador in Washington claimed the cargo, but the claim was disallowed by the United States government.⁹¹ The *Maverick* proceeded to Batavia without any arms, its only cargo being *Ghadr* literature stowed in the trunk of one of the five Indians aboard, all of whom were listed as Persians.

Roy returned to Calcutta in early June under the mistaken assumption

that the arms were on their way. His colleagues in Bengal promptly organized "almost on a war footing" under the Bengal Revolutionary Committee, headed by Jatindra Mukherjee, and prepared to receive the arms. The Bengali group thought it was strong enough to deal with the British troops in Bengal but feared reinforcements from the outside. So they decided to hold up the three main railways leading to Bengal. The Madras line was to be cut near Balesore, which was one of the three places where the arms were to be cached, the other two being at Calcutta and Hatia Island. The line coming in from Nagpur would be attacked near Chakradharpur, and the railway bridge on the Ajay River would be blown up to cut off entrance from the northwest.

A group was sent to Hatia to receive the arms there, raise a revolt in East Bengal, and then march on Calcutta. The group there, once the arms were received, was to storm Fort William, where the 14th Rajput Rifles were already in touch with the revolutionaries. German officers coming on the *Maverick* were to stay in East Bengal to raise and train troops. These plans had been approved by the Germans.⁹² The arms at least started out to be a reality, but in no account is there mention of any German officers being associated with the ship.

At the end of June, with everything in readiness, some of the revolutionaries went to Rai Mangal, the area where the *Maverick* was to discharge her cargo. For almost two weeks they waited in vain, "but the expected ship did not turn up, and they had to return dismayed and bewildered."⁹³ The *Sedition Committee Report* says that there is reason to believe that when the *Maverick* expedition failed, the German consul-general in Shanghai arranged to send two other ships with arms to the Bay of Bengal. This time, Hatia was chosen for the landing of one shipload of arms which would include 20,000 rifles, 8,000 cartridges, 2,000 pistols and an assortment of hand grenades and explosives. The vessel was to come directly from Shanghai, arriving at the end of December, 1915. The second ship, bound for Balesore, was to be a German steamer lying in a Dutch port and was to pick up cargo at sea. The most ambitious plan involved a third steamer which was to sail to Andamans and raid Port Blair, and "pick up anarchists, convicts and men of the mutinous Singapore regiment," who, on February 15, 1915, had turned on their officers, allegedly inflamed by Ghadr materials and Ghadr agitators,⁹⁴ and who were thought to be interned there. Finally, the ship was to proceed to Rangoon and raid that city.

Money was to be supplied from Djakarta by a Chinese selected as a courier. He and the 60,000 guilders he was carrying were both intercepted, and none of the shiploads of munitions ever materialized, nor did any raids take place. Deprived of any support, the Bengali plot collapsed, and with

the death of Jatindra Mukherjee his followers sought asylum in the French colony of Chandernagore.⁹⁵

Mention should be made of one more ship involved in the German plot to send arms to Indian revolutionaries. This was the *Henry S.*, a schooner loaded with arms and ammunition when it cleared Manila. But it got no further than Shanghai, where its cargo was seized by customs authorities. In this case, the intention seems to have been that the *Henry S.* would go to Bangkok and land some of her arms, which were to be concealed in a tunnel at Pakoh on the Thai-Burma frontier, while George Paul Boehm, a German-American who was a passenger on the schooner, trained Indians on the frontier for an invasion of Burma.⁹⁶

Nearly all of these ventures — at Djakarta, Bangkok, Shanghai, Manila, Singapore, and Rangoon — were participated in by returned Indians who were members of the Ghadr party. This aspect of the revolutionary efforts was the basis for the later conspiracy trial which was held in San Francisco in 1917-18. Here again Har Dayal's name was woven through the testimony, and in his opening statement, United States Attorney John W. Preston placed Har Dayal in the stellar role when he said, "This conspiracy had its inception surrounding this one individual. This man, Har Dayal . . . was a rank, out-and-out Anarchist; he believed not only in revolution in India, but revolution everywhere; he believed in a combination and consolidation of all Anarchistic forces in the entire world for the purpose of social, industrial and all other kinds of revolutions of the rankest character."⁹⁷

This, of course, had been the dominant theme of British investigations of revolutionary activities in India during the early years of World War I. The German ambassador to the United States during this period, Count Johann H. A. H. A. graf Bernstorff, characterized the efforts of Indian nationalists in San Francisco to bring about an armed revolution in India — with German help — "an absolute 'wild goose chase,' which, of course, came to nothing."⁹⁸ The Sedition Committee summarized its findings by saying, "Our examination of the German arms schemes suggests that the revolutionaries concerned were far too sanguine and that the Germans with whom they got in touch were very ignorant of the movement of which they attempted to take advantage."⁹⁹

Silk Letter Plot

With the collapse of the revolutionary efforts in both the Punjab and Bengal, attention now focused on Afghanistan and the Pan-Islamic movement, which fit in more closely with German plans. Because of his initial association with Mahendra Pratap and Barkatullah, Har Dayal was perhaps more directly concerned with this aspect of the grand strategy than with the Ghadr attempts at rebellion inside India.

The German-Indian mission, which had been dispatched from Constantinople in May, arrived in Kabul at the beginning of October, 1915, after a long and tortuous journey which included a stopover at Ispahari, in Persia, where another German mission joined the group. The combined parties were able to dodge both British and Russian patrols and cross the enemy lines. In doing so, some of the men were lost and much of the luggage abandoned, including most of the documents entrusted to their care.

The mission, when it crossed into Afghanistan, was accorded "a right royal welcome." At Kabul, a number of talks were held with King Habibullah, but no satisfactory agreement was reached for Afghan cooperation with German plans, so the German members of the mission withdrew in early 1916. But before they left, a provisional government of India was formed with Raja Mahendra Pratap as president; Barkatullah as prime minister, and Maulvi Obeidullah Sindhi as home minister.¹⁰⁰

Obeidullah had been converted from the Sikh religion to Islam and had been trained as *maulvi* (religious teacher). He was an ardent exponent of the Pan-Islamic movement and had gone to Kabul on his own, where he joined what the British called "the *jihad* [holy war] mission." A plan was worked out to overthrow British rule by an attack on the north-western frontier, to be followed by a Muslim rising in India."¹⁰¹ Even though the Germans withdrew, the Indians proceeded with the plan.

Also in Kabul was a group of students who had left their colleges in Lahore just before the Ghadr revolution in the Punjab aborted, hence their enthusiastic reports that the area was in the throes of rebellion gave the conspirators a sense of false security. The provisional government of India now dispatched letters to the governor of Turkestan and the czar of Russia, inviting Russia to break off treaty relations with Great Britain and help the Indians overthrow British rule in India. President Mahendra Pratap considered it something of an inspiration when he conceived the idea of having the message to the czar engraved on a solid gold plate. Before he had left Germany, Mahendra Pratap had arranged for similar letters to be addressed to the leading Indian princes, promising them "wonderful concessions if they shook off the yoke of Great Britain." These were written in faultless Urdu, sumptuously bound, and signed by German Imperial Chancellor Theobald von Bethmann-Hollweg.¹⁰²

In addition to seeking Russian aid, the Provisional government dispatched a mission to the Turkish military governor of the Hejaz, the province in which Mecca was located, who obligingly issued a declaration of *jihad*, copies of which were distributed in India and among the frontier tribes. It was then decided to propose an alliance with the Turkish government, and in order to accomplish this, Obeidullah addressed a letter to the *maulvi* who had negotiated the declaration of *jihad* in which he

detailed the plans and operations of the Kabul group. Written on silk, this letter and others equally as revealing were concealed in the lining of the coat of a messenger, who, under pressure, turned them over to his master, a friend of Sir Michael O'Dwyer, the lieutenant governor of the Punjab. When the letters came to light in August of 1916, another revolutionary plot was foiled, but not before Khankhoje's military training was put to use in a disastrous campaign on the Baluchistan front.¹⁰³

Failure of the various attempts at revolution in India in the early years of the war has been explained in many different ways: lack of coordination; lack of effective leadership; lack of proper security measures; "idealism," and just plain ineptness on the part of those involved in the plots and schemes. Vigilance on the part of the British and stern repressive measures also played a part in quashing rebellious actions. But perhaps the major reason for failure — and the most frustrating to those who tried and failed — was the simple fact that the great majority of Indians remained loyal to the British. In his evaluation, one Indian historian comments: "The revolutionary activity did not at all impress the Indian politicians who had grown grey in political wisdom. The intelligent sections of society were also not enamoured of the Kaiser and his romantic vision of a World Empire."¹⁰⁴ Nor, it might be added, was Har Dayal, who became the most vocal in excoriating German aims.

THE APOSTACY 6 AND THE COMPROMISE

THE MEMBERS of the Berlin Indian Committee were obviously unaware of the almost total collapse of the attempted armed revolution in India in February of 1915, as Har Dayal had proceeded to Constantinople on schedule in April, duly received Mahendra Pratap, and speeded him on his way. The various plans to supply arms and money from German sources were still being carried out, however illy conceived and ineptly executed. But Har Dayal continued to plump for propaganda as the main thrust and probably never did understand why his plans to take over *Jehan-i-Islam* met with so much resistance. As has been indicated, he left Constantinople — almost with German blessing — in August and returned to Berlin via Budapest. By this time, the word had apparently gone around that fiasco had set in, but Har Dayal was ready with another plan. By October, he was in The Hague, where Camille Huysmans had established the secretariat of the International Socialist Bureau in the wake of the occupation of Belgium by Germany.¹ He was there with the consent of the German foreign office but without the knowledge of the Berlin Indian Committee, an early evidence of the rift which was soon to take place.²

Har Dayal, by this time, was well aware of what had gone on in India because he had at hand a copy of an article which had appeared in the *Literary Digest* of July 10, 1915. Under the heading, "American-Made Hindu Revolts," were excerpts from the speech for the prosecution at the First Lahore Conspiracy Trial as it had appeared in *New India* of Madras. The excerpts were prefaced by the following comments:

"Made in America" is a sign of which we are justly proud when stamped upon our exports, but at this moment, we are told, it can be applied to a most undesirable commodity — to wit, conspiracy and rebellion against the established government in India; and it appears that the Pacific Coast is the scene of the spinning of these revolutionary webs, the master mind being one Har Dayal, a Hindu graduate of Oxford, long resident in this country. German papers have told us of uprisings in all parts of India,

but, with the exception of the recent revolt of Indian troops at Singapore, no word of these matters has leaked out in the British press. Now news comes from India of a gigantic conspiracy to oust the British, organized and financed from America, which the Government of India nipt in the bud, altho a number of persons were killed before it was suppress.

The *New India* account told of Har Dayal's organizational and propaganda activity on the West Coast, of the cruise of the *Komagata Maru*, the dacoities, the abortive attempt at rebellion on February 21, 1915, and concluded with the statement of the frustrated plan of the revolutionaries.⁸ Har Dayal had included the tear sheet from the magazine in a letter he had written to Van Wyck Brooks and had scrawled across the top margin, "Huebsch: publishing a work on the Indian Movement with chapters on Har Dayal & Har Dayalism." This is a reference to Lala Lajpat Rai's *Young India*, published by B. W. Huebsch (New York) in 1916, in which the author did indeed devote several pages — if not chapters — to Har Dayal and Har Dayalism. In his letter to Brooks, Har Dayal asked if he would like to go to India as a newspaper correspondent or as a lecturer on religion and philosophy. He said that the Indian National Party would make all of the necessary arrangements not only for Brooks' travel but for the support of his wife and child in the United States during his absence. The identical message was sent four days later with an added note that if Brooks agreed to come, he should join Har Dayal in Europe "without delay."⁴

Har Dayal also wrote two other letters from Scheveningen, the seaside resort northwest of The Hague where he was staying. These were addressed to Alexander Berkman. The first read:

Dear Comrade: I am well and busy. Can you send some earnest and sincere comrades, men and women, to help our Indian revolutionary party at this juncture? They should be persons of good character.

Please keep this matter strictly secret and confidential. Kindly do not discuss it with too many people.

This is a great opportunity for our party. I need the cooperation of earnest comrades for very important work. Several of our comrades have come from India with encouraging news and messages.

If some comrades can come, please wire and write to the above address to my assumed name, "Israel Aaronson." I shall send you money immediately to the name under which you telegraph. Let it be a name beginning with B. I shall understand. Please don't telegraph in your own name.

Kindly also word the telegram in such a way that I can understand how many comrades are coming. If five comrades wish to come, please wire,

"Five hundred dollars job vacant come."

Just put the number of comrades before the "hundred" or use any other device.

Kindly also send me names and addresses of the prominent anarchist comrades in Spain, Denmark, France, Sweden, Norway, Switzerland, Italy, Germany, Austria, and other European countries. Please also send letters of introduction for me to them from Emma or yourself, if you know them.

Please also write a letter at the same time, as the telegram may be intercepted in England. Please also use my assumed name. . . .

With love and respect,

Yours for the cause,

Har Dayal

As he had done with Brooks, Har Dayal dispatched a second letter to Berkman two days later which was almost identical to the first. This time, he said that he was sad, in addition to being just well and busy, and suggested that "earnest comrades" might be found in New York or Paterson, New Jersey, thus showing that he was in touch with the American scene. "They should be real fighters, I. W. W.'s or anarchists," he wrote, reiterating that all financial arrangements would be made by "our party" and adding, "We have lost some very brave comrades in the recent skirmishes," and "the need for the services of comrades is urgent. Please do come to our help. We are fighting against heavy odds."⁵ Har Dayal was thus still sanguine and felt that the main event was yet to come.

The Berkman letters were entered in evidence in the San Francisco Conspiracy trial, but the prime purpose for which they were brought to light by the U. S. attorney general was to associate Berkman and Emma Goldman with German plots. According to one of Miss Goldman's biographers, she had "caustically observed, the mere fact that Berkman had received two such letters from Har Dayal was no more remarkable than if the former had received a letter from Bernard Shaw. Emma recalled that she and Berkman had met Har Dayal, a 'great idealist' and 'Tolstoyan' in California."⁶ Har Dayal remembered that he had met Miss Goldman, but not Berkman.⁷ This obviously did not deter him in his search for support of the "cause."

An interesting picture of Har Dayal's activities in the fall of 1915 comes from Benjamin Harrison Sloan, an itinerant merchant seaman who had gotten involved in the Ghadr movement in 1913, when he had met Har Dayal, whom he characterized as having been in his Berkeley days "an out-and-out anarchist of the confiscate-everything and cut-anybody's-throat type." The Ghadrites, Sloan said, wanted his services "as a man who knew how to sail boats in order that I might help them land arms somewhere on the Indian coast." He got no further than Colombo, Ceylon, where he waited in vain for funds to proceed to Lahore. Feeling that the proposition was a hopeless one ("They were all idealists; it was all theory; and their plans were not practicable.") and realizing that he would be

"as conspicuous as a lone white checker among the black checkers," Sloan returned to the United States and was back in San Francisco by mid-December, 1914. He was then approached to join Har Dayal in Zurich, but it took several months for arrangements to be made for his trip to Europe.

By this time Har Dayal had returned from The Hague and had left Berlin again for Damascus. After Sloan's identity had been established to the satisfaction of border police, Har Dayal returned to Germany, and the two met at Frankfurt am Main and went on together to Berlin. Sloan said that he had found Har Dayal greatly changed: "He had imbibed altogether the German idea, and was full of admiration for German philosophy, German efficiency, and German methods. He said that Germany was the country to help India, and only Germany could save her." He apologized for the relative luxury of his surroundings and the comforts he enjoyed by living in a hotel but said that he was forced to adopt this life style in order to keep up his standing among the bourgeoisie.

Har Dayal introduced Sloan to foreign office officials and to other members of the Berlin-Indian committee — he estimated that there were about 25 of them, in all. The Germans, Sloan said, aided the Indians "abundantly" with funds. Har Dayal told of his mission to The Hague and said that he had been sent there to press the German "side of the case" with the Socialists. He had gone to Damascus in connection with the distribution of seditious literature in Arabic and Persian. He indicated that it was his idea that Damascus be considered as a center for the forwarding of such materials to Persia, Afghanistan, and Egypt.

Har Dayal had planned to send Sloan to England. He was to memorize a message to be delivered to Guy Aldred regarding strikes to be pulled off with the aid of German funds. Sloan said that Har Dayal had had no previous communication with Aldred on the subject and that if Aldred agreed to the proposition Sloan was to turn over money to be used for the printing and distribution of propagandist pamphlets to be circulated among British workingmen, notably transport workers. Sloan would continue to be the intermediary, shuttling between Switzerland and England, and Har Dayal would see that German funds were provided him. Sloan never completed this assigned mission as British agents picked him up in Switzerland, when he was en route to England, and advised him to forget about the whole "dangerous business" in which he had become involved and to return to the United States. Sloan took this advice.⁸

WITHDRAWAL FROM THE COMMITTEE

It is obvious that Har Dayal was now operating independently of the Berlin Committee. The high regard in which he was held by German foreign office officials might have stemmed from his ability to impress

them with his international connections, however tenuous. The Germans would undoubtedly be more interested in Har Dayal's professed attempt to foment a transport workers' strike in England than the committee's efforts to foment rebellion in India. Har Dayal had used Aldred to help distribute Ghadr literature, and Aldred had been one of his most stalwart champions at the time he was threatened with deportation charges in the United States. Har Dayal, however, had had no connection with him since war had been declared and did not know how he would react to a treasonous proposal. He obviously considered it worth a try. His colleagues on the Berlin Indian Committee were apparently aware of Har Dayal's unilateral activities, and Baron von Wesendonk advised him that he would soon receive a letter from them on the question of cooperation. Anticipating this letter, Har Dayal wrote: "I shall be very glad to work with you for the common cause. . . . I think that discussion injures national work and makes us all ridiculous." This was on November 21, 1915, the date which Krüger sets as the beginning of an open break between Har Dayal and the committee.⁹ The conciliatory role which the German foreign office had tried to play had come to naught, and a month later Har Dayal wrote to von Wesendonk that he had been requested to write a newspaper article but that he would do so in his capacity as secretary-general of the Ghadr party to preclude "new discussions and disagreements."¹⁰

The schism between Har Dayal and the committee is confirmed by Chandra Chakraberty, at that time in Berlin and staying at the "Indian Legation." He characterized Har Dayal as a radical socialist and said that he was very nervous, "complaining that there was a little friction between him and Chatto's party." Chakraberty said that he tried his best to find grounds of compromise between the two but did not succeed as "there were temperamental differences." This brings into focus Har Dayal's particular characteristics as a leader. He was apparently unable to adjust to a situation in which there were no clear cut lines between the leaders and the led, as had been the case in India in 1908 or in San Francisco some five years later. Here he was confronted with the necessity of working cooperatively with a group drawn from his same intellectual and social level, and rather than accommodate himself to his peers, he took steps to remove himself from the operation. He had already followed his usual pattern of striking out on his own when he tried to make contact with Alexander Berkman in the hope of getting support for a movement which he alone would control.

In his own account, Har Dayal maintained that he "worked earnestly" with the Germans and Turks for what he believed to be "the common cause of India and Germans" until February, 1916, and that the winter of 1915-16 marked the end of his association with the committee. He was later scathing in his denunciation of his fellow countrymen:

With regard to the Indian Nationalists in Berlin, I observed that the greater part of their time and energy was spent in quarreling among themselves and telling lies against one another. They had not much work; and idle hands always find mischief to do. Some of the leading members came from words to blows on one occasion, and each party averred that the other had commenced the attack. Such a combination of pugilistic and "patriotic" activity caused quite a scandal in Berlin. One of them went about slandering his colleagues everywhere, and told his German and Oriental acquaintances that the other Indians were thieves, swindlers and imposters. These gentlemen were supposed to be members of an association, or "Gesellschaft"; but they could never work together harmoniously.

Har Dayal then said that he had no direct knowledge of committee activities after the winter of 1915-16 but had kept in touch with what was going on through friends in the group that he had retained. The Indians, as a whole, he felt, were "sincere but misguided patriots, unprincipled adventurers, self-indulgent parasites, scheming notoriety hunters, simple-minded students, and some victims of circumstances." Nothing much had really been accomplished, he said, beyond the publication of a few pamphlets and the launching of "some foolish intrigues." The group, however, had "made a very unfavourable impression on Berlin society on account of its perpetual quarrels and splits." German money had been spent for selfish purposes when it was "not intended to provide support for the needy." Some "tried to ingratiate themselves with the German officials by acting as mercenary German agents and meddling with matters which were not related in any way to the Indian movement." There was, according to Har Dayal, "much hobnobbing with the Irishmen and Egyptians and others also agitating against the British." As an example of "hobnobbing," he called into being the deputation which was sent to Constantinople, "but could not get on with the Turks" — or the Germans, he might have added.

Har Dayal then launched into the familiar theme that the

. . . upper and middle classes of Indian society cannot be expected to lead the country forward. These men have a smattering of European knowledge, and the contact with European civilization rouses their pride and ambition to a certain degree. But they have no faith or capacity. They belong to no organized Church, in India or abroad. They do not know much about their national literature or history. They are denationalized and demoralized through the influence of their unnatural environment. Their whole life is a hothouse growth. Nothing great or noble can come of this effete class, wherever its representatives may try to work. They will always be indolent, vain, egotistic and incompetent. Their character has no deep roots in religious principles or national institutions. Religion and nationality are the two great forces that mould human character. A healthy and moral society is organized as a Church and a State. The upper and middle classes of India do not belong to any Church

or State. They have lost faith in the old Indian creeds, and have found no new evangel. . . .¹¹

There is more here than just pique. Although much of this had been earlier expressed by Har Dayal in his writings, there is now more a feeling of alienation and almost of betrayal — as if his peers in Berlin had sold their birthright. And, once again, Har Dayal detaches himself from that group — the upper and middle classes of India — of which he is obviously a member. And while he suggests that the other Indians with “a smattering of European knowledge” had become “denationalized” in their “unnatural environment,” he, by implication, had retained his integrity.

Har Dayal said that after he had made up his mind to leave Germany — because of differences of opinion with the committee — he twice asked the “responsible German official” to arrange for him to return to Switzerland. He gave as his reason for wanting to go there the fact that his failing health would benefit from a sojourn in the mountains. First, he was advised to remain where he was, and then he was told bluntly: “You will on no account be allowed to leave Germany.”

Har Dayal now felt himself marked as an “anti-German” Oriental and said that in the summer of 1916 even his local correspondence was intercepted by Berlin police. He was, he said, very anxious about the future if he were to be treated as an enemy. He was, he added, completely in the power of German bureaucrats:

During three years, from February, 1916, to February, 1919, I was compelled to resort to falsehood and dissimulation in self-defence, and I look back upon that time as a period of utter degradation. But I was not a free agent. . . . As I was detained in Germany nearly one and a half years and could not go to a neutral country, my health suffered very much on account of the scarcity of food in Germany. All the other Orientals and Indians went to neutral countries from time to time for a short holiday; and the German official himself ran to Switzerland to eat and drink. But I was not allowed to go, as I was under the official ban from February, 1916, to November, 1917. The German government inflicted all of this loss of time and health on me by keeping me against my will in Germany after the winter of 1915-1916.¹²

In defense of the German government, Krüger systematically attacks Har Dayal's account of his treatment. It was true, he said, that Har Dayal's mail was watched, but this was not because the German authorities suspected him of any traitorous intentions but because he had been indifferent to German security considerations in handling his extensive correspondence. That the Germans were justified in this position is evident from the rather crude “codes” and “disguises” which Har Dayal used. Krüger

also says that there was nothing in the documents at his disposal to indicate that Har Dayal had ever been arrested in Germany. On the contrary, during the period which he refers to as one of "degradation," he suffered very little at the hands of the Germans: Har Dayal, during the whole time lived at the expense of the German government. He obtained 'considerable sums' in order to cure his nervous affliction, and, under the name of Professor Mizra Osman, spent considerable time in the best and most expensive spas of Germany." He wrote to von Wesendonk, for example, that although he had spent several months in Wiesbaden and in Bavaria in the interests of his health, he still needed several more weeks at Garmisch-Partenkirchen — where he was then — in order to recuperate fully. His nerves, he said, needed complete rest. Krüger thinks this is sufficient evidence that Har Dayal's freedom of movement was in no way restricted — at least within Germany.¹³

In addition to asking for more time for rest, Har Dayal indicated to von Wesendonk that he had been trying to reestablish his connection with the Berlin Indian Committee, saying that he would return to Berlin if he were allowed to resume his literary and political work for the Indian movement. If, however, he had to remain inactive, he preferred to stay at Garmisch-Partenkirchen. He had written the committee in April, 1917, he said, asking them to end the "old quarrel" so that he might continue to work in Berlin "as a regular member of the committee in the usual way." The reply had been negative. Har Dayal then revealed to von Wesendonk in a subsequent letter that he was gathering support and that he felt that "a general reunion and reconciliation among all the Indian friends should now take place." He added that Champak Raman Pillai, who had also been banished from the committee, had visited him and told him the whole story of the differences and misunderstandings between himself and the committee. "I think I can produce a plan," Har Dayal wrote, "by which a reconciliation can be effected soon. I believe that Mr. Pillai and I should also do our share of the work. We are not absolutely useless and incapable. Why should we rot in enforced laziness?"¹⁴

Har Dayal's plan may have been primarily to escape from Germany. This, at least, was its end result. Virendranath Chattopadhyaya had been sent from Berlin to take charge of a branch office of the Indian Nationalist Party in Sweden, and when Har Dayal submitted his proposal, the German embassy in Stockholm was asked to find out if Chattopadhyaya would be amenable — in principle, at least — to Har Dayal's rejoining the committee. Chattopadhyaya was also to be queried as to whether he thought Har Dayal's health had been sufficiently strengthened to permit him to dedicate himself to political activity without danger of another collapse. Emphasis was placed on the fact that it was desirable "that the

Hindus should be in harmony with all the usable elements as far as possible so that reproach could not be raised against Chattopadhyaya, Dutta and Prabhakar that they had any design to exclude other Hindus." The answer must have been in the affirmative and by November, 1917, it was decided that Har Dayal would go to Sweden to confer with Chattopadhyaya about the further work of the Indian committee. He was then sent to Vienna, which was to be the starting point of his trip to Sweden. Difficulties were encountered in getting permission from the Swedish government for him to enter the country, so it was not until October 10, 1918, that he arrived in Stockholm.¹⁵

While he was waiting in Austria for clearance, Har Dayal seized upon a new approach to Indian nationalist propaganda. He wrote to one of the members of the Berlin Indian Committee that he had met with the chief of the Ukrainian nationalists, who was also in Vienna at that time, and was convinced that the Indians should start a socialist publication "and thus join the rear guard of the Socialist parties." In this way, he went on to explain, "we shall make our voices heard much better than by shouting by ourselves about our grievances. Only the socialists are really interested in freedom. All other parties don't care about Asia and the Asiatics." He estimated that it would cost little or nothing to start publishing a paper: "Give me one other friend and two 'socialists' from India who are quite sufficient to get a hearing as 'comrades.' Besides, I can write in the regular socialistic style, with quotations from Marx, etc., etc."¹⁶

For Krüger this was ample evidence that Har Dayal's commitment to socialism was superficial: "To him the international socialist movement seemed merely a usable channel promising even greater success for the Indian nationalist movement and something which should be made use of, along with the cooperation of imperialist Germany. Har Dayal had remained, regardless of his contact with the socialist movement, a bourgeois nationalist."¹⁷ The suggestion that the Indians should publish their own paper was discussed by Har Dayal's colleagues, and Chattopadhyaya was apparently the only one who had reservations about the prospect of Har Dayal's taking over the editorship: "We do not believe that he can be bound, either on account of his own nature or on account of external circumstances, to stick to any work of that kind for any length of time."¹⁸

Har Dayal seems to have regained the support of the others, who were now urging the German foreign office to expedite Har Dayal's departure for Sweden because they believed him to be the only one who would successfully counteract the propaganda being carried on there by an Indian Muslim with British support. Har Dayal's presence in Stockholm, they pleaded was "absolutely necessary." Chattopadhyaya was still not sure: "The fact is that no one of us has confidence in Mr. Har Dayal's stability

and if a man remains here he must make up his mind to stay permanently and to stand all the attacks that may be made on us. Unfortunately, I myself have too much experience with Mr. Har Dayal's character to have confidence in this respect. . . ."¹⁹ It was the committee, however, which prevailed.

REACTIONS TO GERMAN CULTURE

Har Dayal may have regained his lost position and prestige by writing, "The Orient and German Culture," which was published in mid-June in *Der Neue Orient*, a semi-official publication of the German News Office for the Orient, functioning under the aegis of the foreign office. On the surface it seemed little more than panegyrics, but, the adulation which Har Dayal expressed was for the Germany which had produced the giant intellectual figures of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and dramatists, poets, and musicians. He bowed only once to the Fatherland of the twentieth century in a perfunctory opening sentence: "The oppressed people of the Orient now look up to Germany as their champion and their leader in the conflict against English and French imperialism." But this may have been sufficient to ingratiate himself with German officialdom at a time when he was trying so desperately to get out of Germany. Har Dayal did, from time to time, refer to German might and power, but this he attributed to the "total moral and intellectual practices of the German people," rather than to Bismarck or the Kaiser. Power, he said, was the symbol of the culture of a nation: "The power of self-defence is the practical tree that stands on the floor of the earth: culture places the hidden roots beneath and gives it nourishment."

Har Dayal established the theme of his article by addressing himself to all Asians then in Germany and telling them that Germany's relations with their countries need not be limited to diplomatic, military, and economic spheres and that union with Germany need not stop when words like *Generalstab*, *Wilhelmstrasse*, and *Krupp* had lost their meaning. More important, he said, were the place-names like Weimar, Koenigsberg, Heidelberg, and Bayreuth where the "treasures of never-ending value for the hungry and thirsty Orientals" lay hidden. In all the Asian countries were small groups of enlightened and patriotic men who recognized the depressed and suppressed state of their own cultures and who sought to remedy this situation: "They look for the best elements of the European nations to fuse with their own in order to heal and to strengthen the weak organism of their own societies." These men Har Dayal called "the cultural pilgrims" and "the apostles of the Asiatic Renaissance."

Har Dayal must have spent many hours in the Royal Library of Berlin, to which he had applied for a card within weeks after his arrival from Switzerland. His knowledge of the philosophy, poetry, and drama of

Germany was by no means superficial, and he found meaning for Asians in Kant, Fichte, Hegel, Feuerbach, Schopenhauer, and Nietzsche. He warned, however, that their divergent systems of philosophy could not all be accepted in their totality: "Philosophy has always been a tower of Babel of elevated thought. But we can learn something from every great teacher." In his discussion of literature, Har Dayal paid especial tribute to the "poetry of freedom," as he called it, saying that the Asians needed like poetry urgently; such works as William Tell and *Geschichte der Niederlande* could be looked upon as propaganda literature for all freedom movements. He also hailed the works of Ernst Moritz Arndt, Körner, Schenkendorf, the poets of the German stand against Napoleon.

In Har Dayal's discussion of the state he pays lip service to the German state, saying that it appeared to be the best that has been brought forward in modern times. What he is really saying is revealed some sentences later in a tribute to the Greeks because they founded a state with moralistic and positive function. Greek political theory, he said, was more widely taught and realized by Germany than by other European nations — a statement he was later to recant. He then went on to define his own concept of the ideal state, saying that it

must be an object of respect and encourage a spirit of sacrifice and personal surrender. One can feel little enthusiasm and love for a state whose inferiority, partiality, and every action is hardly inspiring; there is no joy in sacrifice for a state which holds only a policeman's club, and distributes bread in equal portions to the citizens. Freedom and equality are necessary and irreplaceable but "man does not live by bread alone." These two great blessings are not complete and are always threatened by ruin without the feeling of duty which supports and preserves the complete human race. Out of this feeling of duty the state takes the main force for its development, and development is the prerequisite for an idealistic world view which encompasses all social practices.

Here Har Dayal clearly shows how many of the values of the modern Western nation-state he has absorbed. Words like "freedom" and "equality," and concepts of social responsibility and progress toward an ideal society are totally alien to the world view of Hinduism, which embraces a rigidly stratified society and which sees the universe dissolving in chaos.

The most original point which Har Dayal makes in "The Orient and German Culture" is his call for cultural exchange, predating by several decades techniques which occupy the information agencies of almost every nation in the post-World War II world. He proposed that the works of Goethe and Schiller be translated into all of the Asian languages and distributed in inexpensive editions. This should be done by the Germans themselves, in cooperation with competent Asian poets and writers. The works of these two great men, he concluded, were uncontestably better

products for export than fabrics and machinery: "Certainly these things can go along, too, insofar as they appear useful, but Goethe and Schiller must go before them."²⁰

END OF A REVOLUTIONARY

Har Dayal arrived in Sweden a month before the Armistice was declared. He contributed little to the Swedish branch of the Indian Independence Committee and proved a costly addition to its staff. He had been given 1000 marks (worth approximately \$250 in U. S. currency at that time) as expense money for his trip from Vienna, and when he arrived in Stockholm he requested and received from the German government 1000 kronen (\$300 U. S. currency) a month for his livelihood and an extra 1000 kronen for the purchase of winter clothes. As regards his work Krüger says that reports on the activities of the Indians in Stockholm indicate that Chattopadhyaya was "the real soul" of the bureau "while the learned Har Dayal, because of his poor health conditions — his nerves have been in disorder for some years — can work very little daily." This may or may not have been a pretense for withdrawal from the work, Krüger says, adding, however, that Har Dayal, in discussing future plans, told Chattopadhyaya that he supported the continuance of the bureau after the war ended so that they would not get a reputation for being German agents.

Anticipating that the Germans might withdraw their support and sever connections with the Indian nationalists, Har Dayal wanted assurance that he would be given sufficient funds to stay in a sanatorium for three months in the interest of his "greatly affected nerves." When the Indian committee was actually dissolved at the beginning of 1919, and the question of financial settlements came up, Har Dayal was to be awarded 10,000 marks. He never received the money, though, because before his account was settled the attention of German officials was called to an editor's note in the March 14, 1919, issue of *India* (London) quoting a telegram in which he said: "Avow publicly my conversion to principle of Imperial unity with progressive self government for all civilised nations of Empire."²¹ The Germans were obviously the last to know of Har Dayal's change of heart. As early as December 4, 1918, an article had appeared in the *San Francisco Call and Post* quoting Har Dayal as saying:

My residence in Germany . . . has convinced me that German imperialism is a very great menace to the progress of humanity, and I rejoice to see that American arms bid fair to humble this arrogant nation . . . I am now free and it is a great relief to have escaped from that absurd country of bureaucrats and snobs. The interest of the German people themselves require that the junker class should be dethroned and a democratic regime established.²²

Har Dayal's decision to recant can actually be dated back to two weeks after his arrival in Sweden when he wrote to Van Wyck Brooks:

You will be agreeably surprised to hear from me after such a long time. I have not been in a position to write you, as I was practically interned in Germany during the last three years and could not correspond with my friends. I managed to get out of that absurd country last week, but I still find myself in a difficult situation here. I have suffered and learned and thought much since I wrote to you from Switzerland in 1914, and I may say that sorrow and wisdom have grown in me like twin-sisters. Of course, the world-tragedy of the war must play a part in every man's moral and intellectual development. I shall write a few short essays on war-themes during the winter, among others, a pamphlet to be entitled, *Forty-four Months in Germany*, in which the real psychological basis of German Imperialism and Junkertum will be discussed. I have been in touch with the most influential men of Germany for some time, and know that German ambition, greediness and belief in Force constitute a serious menace to Europe and Asia. Germany must be taught that her dreams of "World-Power" cannot be realized, so that she may direct her colossal energies into more fruitful channels. It is a vigorous and capable people, but the Junker class has infected the whole country with its Pan-Germanic mania. I rejoice to see that American arms will most probably succeed in humbling this Prussian oligarchy, and ridding Germany and the world of this hotbed of militarism and chauvinism. I am not one of those who long for an early peace. The war may last some time, but Prussian and Austrian imperialism must be abolished, along with the medieval dynasties of the Hohenzollerns and the Hapsburgs, if possible. Now that the U.S.A. has put its hand to the work, let it be done thoroughly.

The events and experiences of the war have also led me to modify my political opinions in some respects. I think that the British Empire in Asia and Africa is, after all, a necessary institution, as those peoples cannot defend themselves against German, Turkish and Mohammedan invaders without the help of British officers and soldiers. In my opinion, the dissolution of the British Empire in Asia would be a great calamity, as it would not result in the establishment of independent Nation-States, but only in a change of masters. The Germans, and the half-civilized hordes of Kurds and Turks would overrun India and other weak countries, if we were left to look after ourselves. I have therefore come to the conclusion that the nations, which now form part of the British Empire, should try to receive Home Rule within the Empire and should cooperate with England for the defense of their countries. English administrative genius has built up a fabric, which should be improved and developed, but not overthrown. This is my view now. What do you think? Of course, you can't judge so well as I can, for I have seen the Germans at work in Turkey, and I know that we don't want any Germans east of the Suez Canal. The German flood must be dammed in the Balkans, if the Orient is to be saved. The Germans are hated in Asia, wherever they have shown themselves during the war. That is a remarkable phenomenon.

Have you written any new books? Please let me have them. I have employed my time in Germany in writing a few essays on the philosophy

of Rationalism and learning Greek. At present, I am not doing much on account of nervous trouble in the eyes.²³

Har Dayal's uncertainty as to his future is reflected in this letter to Brooks, and although he voluntarily turned in his German passport on February 2, 1919, Krüger says that the German Foreign Office officials, with a touch of bitterness, reported that he spoke "even yet in February of his plans in relation to the reorganization of the Committee and to ask constantly for transmission of monies by letter and by telegraph."²⁴

EMPIRE A VIABLE ALTERNATIVE

Lala Lajpat Rai, who sat out the war years in New York, had resisted German attempts to enlist his aid and support and had remained aloof from the Ghadr movement. His public utterances urging Indians to remain neutral had brought down Har Dayal's scorn and sarcasm on his head.²⁵ No one, then, was probably more surprised than he when he received a clipping of the article which had appeared in a San Francisco newspaper announcing Har Dayal's change of heart, especially since it had also included the statement that he had "become an adherent of the party of Home Rule in India instead of the old revolutionary party, which aimed at the dissolution of the British empire in India."²⁶ Lala Lajpat Rai promptly reprinted the article in his *Young India*, the journal he edited in support of the Indian Home Rule league in America, and it was picked up as readily by *India* (London) from Lajpat Rai's publication and appeared in the January 31, 1918, issue with the following editorial comment: "It has always been a matter of regret that a man of such brilliant parts as Har Dayal should have followed the will o' the wisp of violent revolutionary methods in order to serve his country."²⁷ Har Dayal had not been aware of the publicity he had been receiving on two continents until late in February, 1919, when he was quick to confirm by telegram to the *India* editors that he acknowledged the authenticity of the statements attributed to him and that he would shortly send an open letter for publication.²⁸ At the same time, Har Dayal reopened correspondence with Professor T. W. Arnold, who had taught extensively in India and was now serving in the India Office on the staff of the secretary of state for India as the educational advisor for Indian students. It was the *India* article, Har Dayal said, which had set things in motion:

Matters have thus been precipitated. The German officials and my old colleagues asked me to give them a written statement that I did not mean that letter as an honest expression of opinion. They said they would publish my retraction. I at once sent in my resignation to the so-called "Indian Committee" in Berlin and Stockholm, and returned the German

passport to the German Legation. So I have cut off all connection with those people. I am now once more a free, honest man, as I was before the war. I shall try to earn something here by lecturing on Indian art, etc., and shall use my old Oxford certificate as an official document to prove my identity, as I have no passport of any kind with me now. . . . I shall send you the "open letter" in a few days, and also the booklet *Forty-four Months*. Please dispose of them as you think fit. I shall also lecture before two societies of the University of Upsala on India from the standpoint of a loyal British subject. I am rather glad that my friends in America have thus precipitated matters, as the falsehood and hypocrisy of the last four months have weighed heavily on my spirit.

I have a little money in Switzerland, which I have sent for. But it won't last long. Some English friends will help me by getting up lectures for me. This is my personal situation at present.

I request you to consider the question of the amnesty for me.

He attached to this letter a copy of the telegram he had sent to *India*. Two weeks later he wrote again, reiterating the fact that he had cut off all German connections, asking once more for amnesty, and inquiring whether he should send on *Forty-four Months* for publication or try to find a publisher himself. Once again he stressed his financial need, saying that he hoped he could make something from the book and that he could not afford to publish it himself. This was followed by a third letter, dated March 23, 1919, headed with the notation, "To the Censor: This communication is very urgent." He asked again about what he should do with *Forty-four Months* and whether he could expect to get a British passport. "I wish to be informed regarding the attitude of the authorities on the question, so that I may make my plans for the near future." He said that he had been harried by Indian "nationalists" and "the German officials behind them," who had sent threatening letters: "But I don't care for their vulgar, unscrupulous intrigues. I should like to have the protection of a British passport in case of need. If the India Office decides otherwise, it does not matter. I have lived and wandered for 11 years without a passport, and can take care of myself under all circumstances." He then asked that a letter be forwarded to his brother, Kishan, in Delhi: "I wish to enquire how my mother, wife and daughter are. They will also be glad to have news of me and to learn that I have got rid of my old revolutionary ideas (which really arose from defective civic education at school and college).^{*} He concluded by saying:

This is my last letter to you on the subject of the passport and official aid. If the officials do not sympathize with me at all, I can do work by myself. I have good friends in England, and shall do my duty and secure colleagues for my new propaganda, in spite of the official ban against my name. I intend to start a small journal, *The Indian Student's Guide*, very

soon. It will be printed and published in London with my name as editor. I hope it will be a very useful journal in course of time. I had not much good guidance when I was a student, and I made many mistakes. I wish to supply this deficiency now, and help in directing the young men at the most impressionable period of life.²⁹

There now appeared in *India* the open letter which Har Dayal had written, under the heading, "Mr. Har Dayal's Confession of Faith." He began by repeating much of what he had said to both Van Wyck Brooks and Dr. Arnold about his reasons for severing his connections with the Germans and reaffirming his commitment to Empire: "The day of small States is gone." The break-up of the British Empire in either Asia or Africa would only lead to a change of masters for the people there. British conquest was a misfortune, he said, "but that is now a matter of history." He saw no good in exposing India to "convulsions and invasions," adding that it was easy to foment disorder but difficult to "organise and build up as English genius has done in Asia and Africa." By cooperating with the British, the Indians could influence them in the direction of "greater efficiency and equality." The great things that Britain had secured were order, peace, religious freedom, civil rights, and higher education, Har Dayal said. It remained, however, to remove "Iniquitous racial disabilities, abolish economic injustice, combat famine and plague, introduce popular education, promote industry and scientific agriculture, and in other ways raise our people to the level of modern European civilization." Surprisingly, he raised an old, old spectre as the "indispensable condition" for the realization of all of this: the defense of the Northwest Frontier. This area must, he said, remain inviolate under all circumstances: "We must be prepared to make some sacrifices for this great boon. Our fathers have suffered in vain, if we forget this lesson of India's history."

He said that the Empire could be cemented from within if a common basis of intellectual training were supplied, to include English literature, English history, and English law. He also called for the teaching of Greek and Latin in the schools. The English, for their part, "should give up their besetting sins of pride and race-prejudice," while the Asians "should lay aside distrust, rancour, and false patriotism." It was his hope that "the name 'Britisher' will remove all barriers of race, creed, and colour. Institutions in a State tend to uniformity, and the free institutions which now flourish in London will gradually be transplanted to Delhi, Rangoon, Cairo, and Khartoum. This consummation is inevitable." His final word was that the British Empire was a "fundamentally beneficent and necessary institution and "All Britishers — Englishmen, Scotchmen, Irishmen, Indians, Egyptians, Burmese, Zulus, Baluchis, and others — should work and fight together." The English language would be the "moral bond"

to hold together the vast cosmopolitan state which Har Dayal envisioned.³⁰ A British reader expressed his appreciation of Har Dayal's view, with one exception: "The only article of his creed which I cannot accept is the statement that 'the British conquest was undoubtedly a misfortune.' With such goodwill as he expresses it may turn out to be a real blessing, however much it may be temporarily disguised."³¹

As Har Dayal himself said, the open letter published in *India* was simply a summary of a long and drawn-out article. "The Future of the British Empire in Asia," the first part of which had already appeared in the *New Statesman*.³² In this expanded version he introduced a theme which he was to develop in later writings: "History seems to prove that warm countries produce superior intelligence, while cold regions breed strong and courageous races." It was not the Muslims, nor their generals, nor their patriotism, nor military skill that overwhelmed the Hindus in battles on the plains of India, he said, but the climate of Afghanistan: "the mountaineers could hold out longer." Har Dayal again castigated the upper and middle classes of his country, calling them "absolutely incapable and degenerate" and unable to supply leadership for a national army to defend India's borders. He called for British officers: "India cannot afford the perilous luxury of an Indian bourgeois corps. . . ." He was equally insistent that key positions in internal administration be held by Europeans or Englishmen, at least until the sons of peasants — given English educations — could be reared to administrative responsibility. Har Dayal made his most complete volte-face when he said:

The Orientals who do not wish to love and revere England as their spiritual mother must work on other lines. They may foment national insurrections or agitate for Home Rule, or profess loyalty to England as a measure of prudence. But the Empire cannot develop as an organic healthy State if the Orientals prefer their barren literature and their uninspiring history to English literature and English history. If they believe that they have nothing to learn from England, they must organise separatist movements which will aim at the final disintegration of the Empire, though they may adopt the phraseology of loyalty at the present moment. They should understand that a large and progressive State, based on English ideals, is infinitely preferable to a number of small Oriental States, inspired by no ideals at all or by the antiquated ideals of Oriental life. If we do not seek moral union with England, we cannot sincerely acquiesce in the political union. A state cannot endure if several different systems of education prevail in it. For my part, as I have said, I know of nothing in the Orient greater than English literature and English history. The Orientals who think otherwise must formulate political ideals according to their estimate of Oriental literature and history. We are at the parting of the ways now. We may work with England or against her, but let us be sincere and consistent.

This is almost a total rejection of a synthesis of East and West, and from this point on, nearly all of his writings concern his attempts to synthesize Western philosophy, although it is obvious that he cannot totally expunge his Eastern heritage.

Politically, Har Dayal aligned himself with Home Rule and was almost Gandhian in assuming that Britain would live up to her moral responsibilities, especially in her treatment of the non-white races. There could be no double standard: "She cannot have one measure for the Boer and another for the Brāhman. The Indians are not inferior in culture and capacity to the Australians and the Canadians, and they will insist on equality of rights within the Empire. It is to be hoped that England will do her duty before it is too late." In his final statement he envisaged the Commonwealth very much in the form in which it emerged: congeries of autonomous states.

On the whole, this article was more realistic than any of Har Dayal's previous political diatribes, and while it embraced considerable idealism and morality, it was free of the kind of jargon that he said he could turn on at will. (It will be remembered that when he felt that the socialists offered the most sympathetic ear to India's aims, for example, he offered to write "in the regular socialistic style.")

Of course this article did not go unnoticed. It was picked up almost *in toto* in the *New York Times*, and it was reprinted by the British Embassy in Tokyo for distribution in Japan, where Rash Behari Basu had retreated.⁸⁸ In Allahabad, the *Leader* described Har Dayal as a "political poltroon," quoting extensively from what he had written. The paper asked at one point: "If the upper and middle classes are so inexpressibly worthless and devoid of all patriotic feeling and if the rest of the people steeped in ignorance and inertia, how did he expect to bring about the forcible expulsion of the British? Where was his judgment then, and how is it that now he discovers nothing but contemptible qualities among his educated countrymen?" Then it added, "Not even their worst enemies have, we are afraid, drawn such an uncomplimentary picture of them as Lala Har Dayal has done." The newspaper concluded that Har Dayal's verdict on the Germans was "full of subjective feeling and gives an idea of the manner in which Lala Har Dayal has been disillusioned — if he has been." Then referring to his "multiform transformations," it concluded: "No one can or will take him seriously. His libels on his countrymen are therefore beneath contempt." The *Pioneer*, also published in Allahabad, called attention to the fact that there was fear that in the light of Har Dayal's "alleged repentance" the secretary of state for India, Edwin Montague, "might be induced to allow him to return to India" and commented: "Lenient treatment has sometimes been accorded to disreputable seditionists,

but there is little fear of maudlin sympathy being expended on a man with Har Dayal's record. . . ."34 The *Pioneer* was right.

Shortly after Har Dayal had first made contact with Professor Arnold, Mr. Montague had notified Lord Chelmsford, the viceroy in India, that Har Dayal would be informed by the Foreign Office that financial aid or amnesty "cannot be granted to him and that it must be at his own risk if he returns to United Kingdom or India." He then asked whether a warrant should not be got against him "on the chance of his coming within British jurisdiction." Three months later, no progress had been made on issuing a warrant, although Mr. Montague had stressed the urgency for such action in the light of a report from Stockholm that Har Dayal was likely to be expelled from Sweden. Finally, the viceroy cabled:

It is considered by the Government of India that, subject to the advice of law officers in England, Har Dayal could be tried either in India or in the United Kingdom for incitement to wage war against His Majesty in respect of his Ghadr activities. He should, if he visits the United Kingdom, be arrested on warrant obtained in England by you. It is suggested by them that then you should by your warrant direct his removal to India, acting under section 35 of the Fugitive Offenders Act, 1881.

This was at the end of June. In September the crisis had passed. The Swedish government had expressed no objection to Har Dayal's remaining in that country. "Therefore," said the secretary of state for India, "he is not likely to come into hands by deportation."³⁵ While all of this was going on, Har Dayal continued to correspond with Dr. Arnold, who had apparently made arrangements to have *Forty-four Months* published.³⁶ Some of this "Record of Personal Experiences" has already been quoted. By contrast with the *New Statesman* article it is tawdry, consisting mostly of attacks on the "arrogant" German and "depraved" Turkish officials and the politics they espoused, reflected in such passages as ". . . the Germans have left behind them a damning record of broken promises, unfulfilled engagements, and unredeemed pledges all over the Near East. They will live in Oriental tradition as liars and swindlers for a long time to come, for the East does not easily forget." And "The Germans have forfeited the sympathy of the Orientals not only through their arrogance and their unreliable character, but also because they have shown themselves to be inconceivable greedy locusts. They have taken to plunder and extortion, while they pretend to come as friends and deliverers!"³⁷ Har Dayal's most vicious denunciation of the English never approached his indictment of "Junkertum." His praise of the British Empire was so effusive that the India Office saw to it that the book was translated into Hindi and distributed free of charge in India.³⁸

Gobind Behari Lal had only one word for his kinsman's book on his experiences in Germany and Turkey: reprehensible. "I once asked Har Dayal why he wrote such a thing and he had no answer. I asked him if he had been badly treated by the Germans, whether they had incarcerated him, and he said no." But this brought up another point, and Har Dayal confided to Lal that he was almost ashamed that he had never been jailed. Lala Lajpat Rai's oft-quoted comment that Har Dayal "kept himself in the background and avoided danger"³⁹ must have hurt. M. N. Roy asks whether his declaration of loyalty to the British in *Forty-four Months* was yet another proof of Har Dayal's "political instability or a sober judgment informed by experience." He adds, however, that in any case, "it required a good deal of moral courage for one who had won legendary popularity as an uncompromising revolutionary nationalist."

DECADE IN SWEDEN

Har Dayal lived in Sweden for almost a decade, spending most of the time in the neighborhood of Gothenburg, on the west coast. He was apparently drawn there by the presence of the university and its great explorer-scholar, Erland Nordenskjöld, professor of ethnography. Har Dayal cited Dr. Nordenskjöld as his major reference in 1922 when the Swedish government required that all foreigners without passports obtain official permission to remain in the country.⁴⁰ He listed his occupation as university professor, although he was never formally associated with any of the Swedish universities.⁴¹ He earned his rather precarious living in Sweden by lecturing on Indian philosophy, art, and literature.

A glimpse of him during the early years in Sweden is provided by Gillis Hammar, headmaster of the Birkagården Folk's High School in Stockholm, who met Har Dayal in the middle twenties when he came to lecture at the school. "How he existed at that time is problematical," Mr. Hammar said: "He gave the impression of a man in restrained circumstance." According to the stories about Har Dayal, he continued, when he first started to lecture on India he wrote out what he wanted to say, had it translated into Swedish, and read the lecture without understanding much of what he was saying. "I suppose this is rather exaggerated, and gradually he learned Swedish pretty well." Hammar's wife added that it was "broken, but quite understandable." She said that she had talked to a man who had been a gardener at a boardinghouse where Har Dayal often stayed and was told that he walked around the garden, "always reading and almost dipping his nose in the book — very shortsighted as he was." Her husband commented: "His appearance was not in itself imposing. There was nothing of the noble Tagore type about him." Mr. Hammar confirmed that Har Dayal did teach at what would approximate the high

school level from time to time. He was especially interested in adult education, and his lectures were often sponsored by organizations which furthered such programs.⁴² From other accounts, it is also clear that Har Dayal lived austere and frugally. One story has it that he did not like European beds and had a local carpenter make him a *charpoy*, the classic Indian cot with a rope-woven sleeping surface. He slept without heat in his room during the winter — a window always open — and clung to his vegetarian diet: "He discovered some Swedish herbs and vegetables that were not normally used as food in Sweden, which he cooked or prepared in different ways. He also fasted from time to time."⁴³ He was later to say that he lived essentially in solitude in Sweden, "reviewing his whole life."⁴⁴

Perhaps it was because he felt a sense of intellectual alienation that he was joyful when he heard again from Van Wyck Brooks in 1922. In response, he told of his life and his expectations. The war years, he wrote,

taught me more than many books on politics and psychology could have done. Some day I shall incorporate all these lessons in my writings. I shall stay in this country for some time, and then return to the U. S. for my propaganda work. So I hope to see you some day. You say you wish to visit Sweden. Come by all means. If you care to lecture here in English, we can arrange for it easily. I have many good friends here. The people are very amiable, and have many fine qualities. The Labour Movement is very highly developed, and the people are better educated than in many other countries. I earn my living here by lecturing in Swedish on India (with lantern slides) all over the country. I am growing all the time, I mean intellectually and morally, and that is the chief thing. I write to my wife and daughter once a month. They are in India. Now I have finished my studies for my final propaganda work. But something more has to be done for my health, and I am learning Greek and Latin. I learned only Sanskrit at college, but I find that Greek and Latin are indispensable for my work in future.

Har Dayal said that he had not seen a copy of the *Freeman*, for which Brooks was then serving as literary editor, but wished him all success in his work and continued in a pedantic and moralistic vein, offering some advice which must have seemed to Brooks redolent of a world other than the America of the twenties:

Your pen can do much for the renovation of American life. I agree with you that the revival of Idealism is the essential thing for Democracy. In theological language, I may repeat Jesus' words: "Seek ye first the Kingdom of God, and all these things will be added unto you." In this work, a popular interpretation of *Greek* civilization in all its aspects may help. You know that an appeal to the past is very effective as men are imitative creatures. Now many will listen if you say that we should rival and out-

shine Athens, and Athens reminds us at once (not of bread and circus) but of art, the drama, poetry and philosophy, and all these in connection with Democracy. I mean to use Greece as a lever to raise the people to a higher level of life (not merely of comfort). Now you may consider the possibility of utilizing Greek history and philosophy in your work of inspiring literature with a new ideal. In the long run, writings with an historical appeal will survive others. I don't know if I am right, as I am only a layman in literature. But you may follow up the clue and find greater things for yourself. Do you think Ella Wheeler Wilcox is a force for good in American literature? Her verse is very popular in foreign countries.

Do you care to study Positivism, if you need an —ism to brace you up? I am fond of —isms, and think they are very necessary. But some people can do without them. Still, it is best for the sake of the children, to cultivate some —ism, which you like best.

May I suggest that F. G. Gould's books for children will be very suitable for Charles and Kenyon? [Brooks' sons] They are: "The Children's Plutarch," "Moral Lessons for Children," etc. They contain biography for the most part. I may also recommend *Smile's* different works ("Duty," "Character," and "Self-Help"). One book that a schoolboy should have is "Wonders of the World" (2 vols.). It is rather expensive, but its educational value cannot be over-rated. It costs about \$25.

Brooks had apparently mentioned in his letter that Mrs. Brooks had translated George Berguer's work on Christ⁴⁵ from the French into English. Har Dayal asked of the author:

Does he say anything new? I may try my hand at this subject some day. My method will be different from that of other biographers of Jesus. I shall try to describe (and discover) the secret of his influence over his immediate followers, for it is through that influence that a preacher's work lives and grows. And then, we must add a historical chapter on the "Influence of Jesus in History," as his life is incomplete without it. Suppose that he had not founded a church that has grown and become great, should we attach the same importance to his words? Do we read the words of Isaiah or Appollonius of Tyana with the same feeling? And yet they were also great men. It is our knowledge of the history of the Church, that gives weight to the words and deeds. "The Gospels" + 2000 years, that is the life of Jesus. I shall be glad to learn what Mrs. Brooks thinks of this method.

But I find that the study of Greek philosophy is more fruitful. I have devoted much time recently to Plato and Aristotle. If Mrs. Brooks is inclined to the study of idealistic themes, I may recommend *Diogenes Laertius's* "Lives of Greek Philosophers" (Bohn's Library).

Your diagnosis of the situation in the U.S.A. reminds me of the necessity of having a philosopher class in society. There must be some organized form of Idealism somewhere in society. Then we can use Greece, etc. For men are the first instruments of reform, then books. I sometimes

hate the bookishness of the modern world, and long for the spoken word. In olden times, a man wanted to tell others of his message: now we think of writing it down first! But I have found out that true teaching is oral (thus agreeing with Socrates). Books prepare the way, and preserve the results, but the living voice is more important than the pen (begging your pardon). I dream of the time when I shall have founded the School of Philosophy at Athens, with the object of reviving philosophy. But life is short, and everything falls short of our dreams.

I have derived much benefit from the study of Confucius and Mencius. China has some good things to offer.⁴⁶

Although Brooks may well have been amused at the selection of literature recommended for his sons' education — and the studies recommended for himself and his wife — they give a clue to some of the things Har Dayal must have read in his search for the touchstone of Western strength and vitality. As to the dream, Gillis Hammar penned at the end of one of his letters: "I forgot to say that H. D. planned to go to Athens some day and found there some kind of Academy (ethical? philosophical? social?), I guess by pattern of the Platonic Academy (?). He never came so far."⁴⁷

In 1926, an article by Har Dayal was published (in English) in *Svenska Orientsällskapet* entitled, "Modern India and European Culture." It was here that he introduced his "three R's": Renaissance, Reformation, and Revolution, saying that all three had come to India through her contact with Europe. After what he called the "Dark Ages" of Muslim conquest, Europe "thundered" at India's gates with the "fearful message: Awake! Learn! Or die!" The Indians, he went on, could not borrow European culture wholesale, but had to be selective. To this he added the time factor:

How can the past of India be harmoniously blended with this tremendous, awe-inspiring, wonder-working Present of Europe, so that India may have a greater Future than her own past? It is not easy for India to assimilate European culture in an organic way and proceed gently and equably on the upward path of Evolution. Old and New must often stand arrayed against each other. Society must be rent by a hundred earthquakes and cataclysms, when the explosive ideas of the Renaissance, the Reformation and the Revolution are scattered broad-cast on the ancient soil of India. Europe had to wait almost a century between the Renaissance and the Reformation and more than two centuries between the Reformation and the Revolution. But India must go through these purifying ordeals of fire at the same time, as all that Europe has achieved during five hundred years was thrust upon the Hindus in a generation.

Har Dayal then went on to discuss India's isolation after the priests had declared it a sin to travel in foreign countries, suggesting that perhaps

they had originally intended to keep Hindus from coming in contact with Buddhism, which had been successfully driven out of the country. Or maybe they were worried that vegetarianism would be breached. In any case, Hindu scholars became like "frogs in a well." When the West opened up to them, however, theirs was a limited purview. Their education was only in English as compared with the Japanese, who "could see European civilization as a whole." The English-language universities in India thus produced "peculiar, hybrid, hot-house creatures, who were neither of the East or of the West, nor of the greater East and West of the future." The Hindu scholar became little more than a dark-skinned Englishman, "a monstrous caricature of Western culture, rootless, soulless and out of touch with his own people and their historic past." This led to a reevaluation by the Hindus — something in which Har Dayal himself had participated. Came now the call for a synthesis: instruction in both European culture and the fundamental elements of Hindu civilization. The young men who set out to right the wrong had only faith and love and found little support, he said. The princes and wealthy landowners wanted only the indigenous culture taught, and British officialdom and Christian missionaries wanted only what their civilization had produced. Har Dayal then extolled such institutions as Fergusson College in Poona and the D.A.V. College in Lahore, saying that India had thus solved her educational problems.

The two "pearls of great price" which had come to India from Europe were science and democracy, said Har Dayal. With the former came modern technology. Even Gandhi, "who condemns machinery and railways in the genuine Tolstoyan spirit, travels all over the country with the aid of scientifically constructed locomotives, and telegraphs his fiery orders to his colleagues by means of a current of electricity. Thus Science takes a noble revenge on her thoughtless detractors!" The Indian mind, said Har Dayal, was "synthetic and philosophical" and capable of wanting more than the fruits of the industrial revolution, thus great theoretical scientists were emerging from Indian intellectual ranks. He then took his usual swipe at metaphysics but defended the "beautiful, sensuous, imaginative and symbolic" mythology of Hinduism, now gone in the face of science, which "teaches us to content ourselves with a prosaic religion; but Science will give us a new poetry of its own." For Har Dayal, "the ancient system of Hinduism is being disintegrated on all sides. No one can say how much will be left standing, when science has done its work." Yoga might, however, emerge in the scientific study of the occult.

So much for science. As for democracy, Har Dayal said, there was no historic foundation for it in Hinduism. This led him into a castigation of the caste system, "the climax of social inequality." He was optimistic,

however, that "the social atmosphere of a modern India would be fatal to caste in all its multitudinous shapes." He praised Gandhi, saying, he "exhorts the higher castes to accord to the pariahs all social rights and privileges. He has made the removal of untouchability a plank in his program of reform. He sets the example of eating and drinking with them, and his moral influence elevates the social position of the depressed classes, as they are called." Har Dayal then told of Europeans married to Hindus being accepted into the fold: "Even caste bends to world-forces which emanate from Europe. The unchanging East (or India) is a figment of the poets' imagination." The "readmission" of Muslims or Christians into Hinduism was another modern phenomenon: "Thus the old maxim no longer holds true, that a Hindu is born, not made. Hinduism has become aggressive, and this involves the transformation of the caste system."

Democracy also means nationalism, said Har Dayal, as he returned to his thesis that Indian nationalism could best be served by India's remaining in the British Empire. He deplored terrorism and said that the majority of "Hindu patriots" now supported the Indian National Congress and followed Gandhi, who popularized passive resistance and "who advised the nationalists to boycott the British schools, lawcourts, councils, and everything British in the country. This idea has been borrowed from Tolstoi and Thoreau." The study of the development of the European nation states, he said, had inspired the study of the history of India, and

History is not mere knowledge; it is also the nurse of nationalism and patriotism. The love of historical research has stimulated the growth of political self-consciousness. Such words as India and Hindu acquire a new lustre by the reflected light of history. The political life of India was loose, amorphous, ineffective and intermittent during many centuries, as it was not nourished by a stable historical tradition. But now it tends to become definite, vital, self-conscious and progressive, because the revival of historical learning under the guidance of Europe has taught us to know ourselves. The political movement is thus reinforced and inspired by the new intellectual forces.

Speaking of language, he said that while the nationalists tried to install Hindi as the lingua franca of India, English was still the common language of the "leading classes," with even Mahatma Gandhi editing a weekly journal in English. Some of the more deep-rooted ideals which remain in India, however, are abstinence from alcohol, vegetarianism, and the segregation of the sexes. His final comments were on Christianity:

Christianity is also an important factor in European culture, but the educated Hindus cannot appreciate it very highly. They are really pantheists or atheists, and they cannot accept the crude semitic monotheism

of the christian sects. They believe that their doctrine of reincarnation provides a more rational interpretation of life and death than the christian teaching about heaven and hell, and the salvation of a few chosen persons. They reject all theories of exclusive salvation, and point out that such ideas lead to war and persecution, as the history of Europe clearly shows. They cannot regard the Bible as the word of God, as that book is full of errors and inaccuracies of different kinds, and the Old Testament is opposed to the New in its spirit and ideals. They do not believe in miracles and signs, as they have acquired the scientific outlook on the universe. They cannot believe that God revealed himself only to a small people and at a particular period of history, and left all his other children in utter darkness and ignorance. They are willing to accept whatever is good and true in the Bible, but they do not think that they must be baptized by a missionary for the salvation of their souls after death. They revere Christ as a great prophet, but not as the son of God. They accept his gospel of love and self-denial, but detest all dogmas of exclusive salvation. They prefer their old ideals of toleration and spiritual development. Many Hindus believe that orthodox Christianity represents the seamy side of European culture.

He concluded by expressing the conviction that "the future of humanity depends on the ideal of the union of East and West."⁴⁸

Involvement in India

In the fall of 1925, Har Dayal figures in two controversies raging in India involving religious conflict. The first, between the Hindus and Buddhists, involved the disposition of the famed temple of Buddha at Gaya, in Bihar. The matter came to a head when the Mahabodhi Society, credited with having preserved the sacred sites of Buddhism in India, demanded that the temple be returned to Buddhist jurisdiction. At some time in the sixth century it had become a Hindu shrine. "I do not call it a 'Hindu' temple," said Har Dayal, "as the word 'Hindu' really denotes a civilization and a nation-group, not a religion or a church. It would be better to speak of Buddha-Gaya as a Śaṇatana-Dharmist or Brahmanist shrine at present." Although he denounced the priests in possession of the temple as "drones and bigots, like all guardians of such sacred places," he made the point that "millions of Brahmanists also revere Buddha as an incarnation of Vishnu." Thus, Brāhman claims to the temple were, in some measure, justified. Har Dayal challenged the right of the Mahabodhi Society to speak for Buddhism and all its sects in many different countries and suggested the formation of an International Buddha-Gaya Association which would leave the old property — "an eyesore" — in the hands of the Brahmanists and erect a new complex to include a temple, a library, a research institute, a hostel for Buddhist pilgrims and scholars, a museum of Buddhist art, ancient and modern — all to be in pure marble. "This,

he said, "is the right way to honour the Buddha in this century." He envisioned art and literature, treasures and funds flowing in from all over the world, from Buddhists and non-Buddhists alike: "Today it is only a dream; but the pious Buddhists and the wise Indian nationalists can convert this dream into a noble reality. Perhaps."

In dealing with the Buddha-Gaya controversy, Har Dayal reflected his new and broader approach to things as they affected his homeland, viewing it as a question of "national prestige and influence, of moral values, even of political gain and loss for centuries to come."⁴⁹ This may have been the new Har Dayal, but when he entered the Hindu-Muslim conflict, it was obvious that the old Har Dayal was not dead. His words fell like a bombshell in communal circles. "He couldn't stop talking," said Gobind Behari Lal. The *Pratap* in Lahore had published what Har Dayal chose to call his "political testament." This was picked up almost immediately and given wide circulation in the *Times of India*. What he was writing, he said, might prove a guide to young Hindu men and women. "Today, even some Hindu patriots, lacking in courage, may revile me; but in future this testament will be embodied in school texts for the boys and girls of free India and free Punjab." After quoting a classic Indian query, "After my death, will they make flagons of my dust?", he stated his stand in unequivocal terms:

I declare that the future of the Hindu race, of Hindustan and of the Punjab, rest on these four pillars: (1) Hindu Sangathan, (2) Hindu Raj, (3) Shuddhi of Moslems, and (4) Conquest and Shuddhi of Afghanistan and the frontiers. So long as the Hindu nation does not accomplish these four things, the safety of our children and great-grandchildren will be ever in danger, and the safety of the Hindu race will be impossible. The Hindu race has but one history, and its institutions are homogenous. But the Mussalmans and Christians are far removed from the confines of Hinduism, for their religions are alien and they love Persian, Arab and European institutions. Thus, just as one removes foreign matter from the eye, Shuddhi must be made of these two religions. Afghanistan and the hilly regions of the frontier were formerly part of India, but are at present under the domination of Islam. . . . Just as there is Hindu religion in Nepal, so there must be Hindu institutions in Afghanistan and the frontier territory; otherwise it is useless to win Swaraj. For, mountain tribes are always warlike and hungry. If they become our enemies the age of Nadirshah and Zamanshah will begin anew. At present English officers are protecting the frontiers; but it cannot always be. . . . If Hindus want to protect themselves, they must conquer Afghanistan and the frontier and convert all the mountain tribes.

He held out little hope for Hindu-Muslim unity:

Some Hindus say that when the English leave India, the Indian Mussalmans and Afghan Pathans will read the fine speeches of the Con-

gress-wallahs and sing "Bande Mataram," and embrace the Hindus like affectionate brothers! . . . As long as Islam survives in India and Afghanistan, so long will the mouth of these brothers water to see the wealth and belongings of the Hindus, and so long will their leaders wish to establish Moslem Raj in India and live in luxury. As long as the Afghans and Pathans remain Moslems, so long will the passion to loot India be strong in their veins. . . . The thirteen centuries of Islam and the thousand years of war between Afghanistan and India cannot be swept away by the Mahatma's fast of 21 days. The magic of history is far more potent than that of a Mahatma's penance. . . . Those who preach Hindu Sangathan on the one hand and on the other sing the tune of 'Hindu-Moslem unity are making a grave blunder. In this way neither will be achieved, nor will Hindu-Moslem unity be attained — even if such unity were possible.⁵⁰

Partition stands as a monument to his prescience.

In this testament, Har Dayal was echoing Savarkar, who, even in bonds in the Andamans, was preaching Hindu Sangathan (meaning, literally, "holding together" but more loosely translated as Hindu League) and conducting *shuddhi* rites. *Shuddhi* means, literally, purification, but is more often translated to mean conversion or, as Har Dayal put it in another context, the opening of Hindu society's doors "for all strangers and prodigal sons."⁵¹ Har Dayal's views were later to be called a scheme "wild in its conception . . . sure to prove ruinous in its execution. It is adventurous in character and is too fantastic to appeal to any reasonable men except for perhaps some fanatical Arya Samajists of the Punjab."⁵² Or to the fanatical Brāhman who shot down Mahatma Gandhi. If nothing else, the response to his "testament" indicates that Har Dayal was not a completely forgotten figure in Indian politics.

He also continued to write for the *Modern Review*, which published his "Three Ideas on Education" in December of 1925. Two of the three ideas he had expressed in other contexts: the study of Greek in Indian universities and the establishment of residential public schools in the bracing climate of the hills: "Now no one who is not an angel or a donkey can find real joy in work. when the thermometer shows 35 or 40 degrees Centigrade (and how do we know that our patient donkey enjoys his work? Perhaps he does not)." The third idea he advanced reflected his interest in Buddhism, not this time for its religious, but for its social and historical implications. In addition to adding Greek, he would restore Pali to Indian university curricula. It has been banished by the priests, he said, because Pali literature condemned caste and the priesthood. Hinduism, according to Har Dayal, had only taken over the evils of Buddhism "like celibate monks, *maya* [the doctrine of illusion], pessimism, vegetarianism and idolatry . . . but, alas! where is the pearl of great price that now lies buried in bulky Pali tomes in lovely Lanka [Ceylon]? That pearl is Buddha's

teaching about caste and priestcraft." Then follows his most ringing denunciation of caste:

Caste is the curse of India. Caste, in all its forms, has made us a nation of slaves. . . . The priest is our master, but he himself (and all of us) are the slaves of foreigners. This is the fruit of caste. . . . It is not Islam, and it is not England, that has destroyed India. No, our enemy is within us. Priestcraft and caste have slain us. This is the truth of history. Hindu Society twice committed suicide. . . . Caste must go, and it must not go slowly and gradually, but immediately and completely and irrevocably. This should be our vow: No compromise with caste in any shape or form, and Hindu unity as our practical social ideal.

Har Dayal also emphasized the importance of the study of Pali India's history, declaring that during the Buddhist period "India achieved her greatest triumphs in science, ethics, education, art and international prestige. India has produced few greater men than Buddha, Asoka, Buddhagoshā, Kumarajiva and other immortal representatives of the Buddhist period."⁵³

In the last article he was ever to write for the *Modern Review*, published in September, 1926, Har Dayal attacked those institutions and conditions in India which he said he could not defend when he spoke to Western audiences. They were seven in number: child-marriage, *purdah* (seclusion of women), caste, polygamy, hideous idols, illiteracy and the condition of slavery, this last-named being the end product of the other six. All of these, he called the "Shame of India." In the course of the article he reiterated his stand for Home Rule but now saw it as only a temporary expedient. Complete national independence had to be the ultimate goal of all Indians, he said, as he saw eye-to-eye with Gandhi in calling for self-purification first: "We must work steadily, quietly, peacefully, resolutely and untiringly in order to cleanse the beauteous brow of our lovely India from all of these black stains of shame, and paint the sandal *tilak* [mark made on the forehead] of *Swaraj* [self-rule] *Sabhyata* [decency], and *Mana* [prestige, dignity] on it."

This was almost an anachronism. The very early nationalists had concerned themselves with the need for reform of social institutions and the most offensive manifestations of the caste system, but by the time of Har Dayal's entrance into politics, these were of secondary importance in the protest against the political and economic restrictions placed on the aspirations and expectations of upper- and middle-class Indians. Although the editors had curtly noted: "Mr. Har Dayal will be glad to learn that progress, though slow, is being made in all the directions pointed out by him,"⁵⁴ within a year Katherine Mayo (in *Mother India*) was to capitalize

on "these black stains" in a book which the Mahatma characterized as "a drain inspector's report, a book for Englishmen to forget and Indians to remember."⁵⁵ Despite his indictments, Har Dayal had never given up hope that he could someday return to India.

Amnesty Appeal

In June of 1919, British law officers in India had told the viceroy and the secretary of state for India that Har Dayal could be tried for abetting the waging of war against the king; hence he had been advised that he could never enter territory under British jurisdiction only at his own risk. His case, however, continued under review and by December of 1919 some doubt was expressed as to whether Har Dayal's Ghadr activities were acts of abetment of the waging of war in India, since no war was actually waged, and there was insufficient evidence that his activities in Germany and Turkey would warrant pressing charges.⁵⁶ Har Dayal, of course, did not know any of this and apparently felt that he had better remain on neutral ground. There are letters indicating that he had applied for Swedish citizenship late in 1922, but his application was either rejected or not acted upon. He said that he had little hope of it being approved until a Socialist government were returned.⁵⁷ Perhaps it was because he received no more consideration from the socialists that he reopened correspondence with the British through the Consulate in Gothenburg on March 18, 1924. He wrote:

I shall be much obliged if you would kindly enquire about my legal status as a British subject. Has an amnesty been granted in my favour? I wish to know if I can travel to England for scientific work without any danger of judicial proceedings against me on account of my anti-British political activity during the years 1908-1918. I desire to study at the British Museum and to see my English and Indian friends. I have been elected a member of several associations in England, but I do not know my exact legal status. I cannot travel to England without a formal amnesty. I have not participated in any anti-British political movement since 1918, and I do not intend to do so in future.

I shall be much obliged for definite information with regard amnesty and my present status.

Punjab officials still felt that Har Dayal should not be granted amnesty and urged that he be told again that any move he made would be at his own risk. Privately, the director of intelligence commented: "I do not suppose that he would be willing to take the risk; though I doubt whether, if he did, it won't be advisable to prosecute him after this lapse of time, in spite of his very black record before and during the war."⁵⁸

The matter rested for another two years, and then Har Dayal wrote

again, having heard from his brother that Sir Alexander Muddiman, home member of the Executive Council of the Governor General and leader of the Assembly, had told Lala Lajpat Rai that the government did not intend to prosecute him, but not grant him a formal amnesty. Guided by this information, Har Dayal once more inquired whether he could travel to London and live there without danger of being prosecuted by the Government of India. He was no longer asking for a formal amnesty, he said, and added the promise that he would not participate in any unconstitutional movements in the future. He also said that he had no desire to return to India and wanted a passport only for the trip to London. He concluded: "I must make my plans for the future as I am 42 years old and I am also a scholar and a political leader and not a school-boy."

This letter was followed within the week by another in which he continued in the same note of irritation. He really wanted to know what the British meant by saying that his travel to England or India would be at his own risk. If he were going to be prosecuted "for grave political offences," why should he return? A logical question, it would seem: "It is not worth while to spend my own money and travel all the way in order to be hanged or put in prison. In that case I should continue to live in foreign countries." On the other hand, if the government did not intend to prosecute him, why couldn't some indication of this be given him, even if he were not granted amnesty: "I wish to know if I shall be prosecuted or not. No intelligent person can be asked to take a leap in the dark." Har Dayal then pointed out that he had voluntarily severed his connections with the Germans in the hope that he would be able to work for India and the Empire on constitutional lines, "But I cannot work at all if I am hanged or put in prison." He gave up German protection but gained nothing, he said, and all he wanted was to live "in peace and freedom in England and India."

Har Dayal then brought up the subject of his family: "If I must live in foreign countries for the rest of my life, I shall ask my wife to come and join me. We have not seen each other since 1908 and something must be done for this personal problem." He concluded with a "humble request" that he be told whether he would be prosecuted or not and the not-so-humble statement that he could not consent to live under "any special conditions or restrictions." His closing words were, "Bygones must be bygones."

The British thought not. Any assurance that Har Dayal might not be prosecuted might be construed as a conditional amnesty, so the India Office reiterated: "Though it is unlikely that he will be prosecuted in the event of his return, it would obviously not do to tell him so and his recent application makes it quite clear that so long as the threat to make him

answer for his treasonable activities is held out, he will not attempt to enter British territory. There seems no occasion, therefore, to modify the views we expressed in 1924 and we may reply accordingly." Har Dayal now thought it appropriate to inform the British what his brother had told him, adding, "I do not wish to receive such important communications in this indirect and uncertain manner. I appreciate frankness and fair play." He asked for confirmation of Sir Alexander's statement but, of course, received none.

In the meantime, Har Dayal opened communications in another direction by writing to Professor Takakusu, a Sanskrit scholar at the Tokyo Imperial University, saying that he had become an ardent convert to Buddhism and wanted to visit Japan. The good professor got in touch with the British ambassador, who expressed concern that Har Dayal might join forces with Rash Behari Bose if he were allowed to enter Japan. The Foreign Office concurred, and Professor Takakusu cooperated by writing Har Dayal and urging him to continue his studies in Europe. If this weren't enough, the British intercepted a letter Har Dayal had written to a friend in India in which he had indicated that if he were not allowed to return to England and India he would go to Russia "and become an officer at Moscow. . . . Up to now I have kept aloof from the Russians because I wanted to go to London. If I fail to get the permission applied for, I intend to work with the Russian Government."

The British commented: ". . . if Har Dayal's desire to live at peace with the British Government goes no deeper than would appear from his letter, the best thing is for him to continue to reside outside the British Dominions." It was not until September, however, that Har Dayal was officially notified that "no facilities can be accorded you for a journey to the United Kingdom and that no guarantees can be given of the kind suggested in your letter of June 28 last." The file concludes with a note from Har Dayal in which he said that it appeared that his brother had been misinformed and that he would not trouble the government of India again before 1929.⁵⁹ This, however, was not the case. Within two months, his whole life took an entirely different turn.

Agda Erikson

In November, 1926, Har Dayal met Agda Erikson, a Swedish social worker and philanthropist of significant accomplishment. She was to become his companion from then on and his acknowledged wife from the summer of 1932. At that time, Har Dayal wrote to an English friend, "You will be glad to learn that Agda has now the same name as myself ('Mrs. Dayal'). So it is all right now even from the standpoint of ordinary English conventions."⁶⁰ In London, where the wedding was supposed to

have taken place, there is no official record of such a marriage. Apparently Har Dayal had told Agda that his wife in India had died, because her sister told friends in Sweden that now the couple could be legally married.⁶¹ Up until this time, Miss Erikson believed that Har Dayal had been divorced. According to Gobind Behari Lal, Har Dayal had told his wife that she should divorce him and marry again. "Of course the family would not accept this, but he told her to do it, so, in this sense, he was fair with her."

Miss Erikson was about two months younger than Har Dayal. She was the granddaughter of Sven Erikson, the first man in Sweden to use spinning and weaving machines. Her father, who continued in the family industry, died in 1912, leaving her with a substantial annual income of 54,000 kroner. She studied at Upsala University for a few years but had to withdraw from school because of tuberculosis. She recovered after spending several years in sanitoriums. Mr. Hammar, who is responsible for this and further biographical information on Miss Erikson, says that when she was well again, "she was filled with longing to make herself useful to other people." To accomplish this, she decided to found a Folk's High School in the Viskadalen area — the valley of the Viskan River, which provided the power for the textile mills in the district. In preparation for the venture, she enrolled in the Folk's High School of which Mr. Hammar was headmaster. For six months she attended classes with 32 young working people, two of whom she had brought with her from her home area, paying their full expenses. Miss Erikson's record of social service extended back to 1920, when she had started a library and study circle and organized a kindergarten and nursery for the workers of Kinnaström, the place where she had been born. But, says Mr. Hammar,

More important than anything else her name is linked with the Viskadalens Folk's High School. She took the initiative in the development of the school when, in 1926, she bought Seglereds estate in the township of Seglora. This estate was remodelled for the high school and on November 1 [1926] this folkschool began its first course. Agda Erikson assumed all expenses of the school for two years; then allowed a newly formed association for the school to manage the premises and inventories of the school without any expense to the association for three years; then sold the school to the organization on very advantageous terms. She also gave Sjuharadsbygden (and old name for the district around Kinnaström) its own folk's high school.⁶²

In addition, Miss Erikson founded a boardinghouse near Stockholm intended for the comfort and well-being of staff members of Mr. Hammar's school, providing them food and lodging for very modest prices. Har Dayal was admitted to this residence, and it was there that he met Agda

Erikson: "She was interested in international things and eager to discuss problems of all kinds, practical and theoretical." The friendship blossomed, and within a few months there was an urgency in Har Dayal's desire to return to England. Mrs. Hammar says quite frankly that the reason the couple had almost to leave was that Miss Erikson "found it difficult to stay in Sweden as long as she lived with Har Dayal as his wife without being able to marry. Better then to live in a foreign country." She added: "This is not only a conjecture."⁶³

Decision and Departure

At the end of March, 1927, Har Dayal once again asked for amnesty and permission to reside in London. When he had received no reply by August, he dispatched a brief note to the British Legation in Stockholm asking that a telegram be sent at his expense to determine whether a final decision had been reached with regard to his petition for amnesty, explaining, "I must make my plans for the future." The India Office responded through the Legation that "amnesty" could not be granted: "Har Dayal is no doubt aware that, as a British subject, he does not need special permission to proceed to this country; but he might be informed that if . . . he wishes to be accorded passport facilities for entry into this country, they will be granted to him, on the understanding that he will use them at his own risk." By now, it was September. Har Dayal took the initiative and wrote to the British Minister in Stockholm:

I shall be much obliged if you will kindly inform Government of India (India Office, London) that I intend to travel to London, arriving there on Monday, 10th October. If the authorities wish to enter into communication with me for any reason whatsoever I humbly request the favour of their doing so at Westway Hotel . . . and not at Tilbury Pier or St. Pancras station. Some Swedish friends may be travelling on the same boat, and my nephew and brother-in-law will meet me on arrival; and I should wish to avoid embarrassing scenes of any kind in their presence. I shall be very thankful if such courtesy may be extended to me on this occasion.⁶⁴

One Swedish friend who was traveling on the same boat was Agda Erikson. She was accompanying him "nominally to study philosophy at the London University, under his guidance," Mr. Hammar said. The nephew who met Har Dayal was Kishan's son, Bhagwat, who reported to his father three days later:

Dear uncle arrived here last Monday. As you know he got a passport from the British Ambassador in Stockholm for Great Britain *only*. Besides a mere passport he has not received *in writing* any assurance of

an indemnity. He relies on the Conversation that took place between L. Lajpat Rai and the ex-Home Member. He says that the Home Member gave an *assurance* to L. Lajpat Rai that the Government did not intend to prosecute him (uncle) for his past actions *so long* as he (uncle) remained law abiding in future. Dear uncle believes that the assurance was genuine and not a trick, and therefore his coming here does not entail more than a minimum of risk. Now or never. He also says that the grant of a passport was for *Great Britain*. Everybody had first to go *direct* to India. And in the past he was also always refused a passport for Great Britain.

However up till now [August 13] he has not been bothered by the Police. He intends to take unfurnished rooms in a suburb.⁶⁵

This last remark was probably by way of paving the way for the Edgware address, where Agda Erikson was to buy a cottage. "This house was their home for the rest of their lives," said Mr. Hammar.

The reluctance on the part of the British to consider amnesty for Har Dayal is reflected by the conviction of intelligence officials that "no concrete evidence of any real change in his conduct was observed." To the contrary, they held that throughout his years in Sweden Har Dayal had been in "regular and revolutionary correspondence" with the Hindu press. It was the Punjab government that regarded Har Dayal's presence in India as "potentially very dangerous both from the political and communal point of view" and consistently blocked his efforts to remove himself from jeopardy. Cited, for example, was an article he had written in his last months in Sweden and which had appeared in *Sudharsan* (Lahore) just five days before he left for England. He was safely there, however, before the attention of the India Office could be called to the fact that he had once again shown himself to be "one of the most dangerous revolutionaries that India had produced."⁶⁶ Entering the communal area once more, Har Dayal said the real object of Hindu *Sanghathan* was to raise a strong and united national *jatha* (party) to carry *swaraj* to London and to raise a *quami dal* (national army) "which will lay the foundation of an independent Government in the country." Ten million educated young Hindus should be enlisted in this army, and there were echoes of the old Ghadr rhetoric as he continued:

The members of the *dal* should be men of firm resolve who would sacrifice their persons and properties under the orders of their officers. No pacts will then be needed for Hindu-Muslim unity. If you today organize this party I will tomorrow send you from Geneva and England the parcel of *swaraj*. What I mean is that if Hindu young men organized themselves into a strong party no power on earth can prove an obstacle in their way. From my experience after my travels in Europe and America I can say in a word that India cannot get *swaraj* without *Sanghathan*. A propaganda should also be carried on for the Hindi language throughout the world.

The Hindu Rajas of India too should be organized. The task is a difficult one but it will be accomplished by exertion. You will then see what happens in ten years time.⁶⁷

The British were not alone in holding that Har Dayal remained an unreconstructed revolutionary. After independence, the secretary of the Indian Embassy in Stockholm was to say of Har Dayal's decade in Sweden: "For official purposes, he was supposed to be doing research work, but in reality, as some of his contemporary Swedish friends are able to recollect, he worked underground against the British domination over India."⁶⁸

A WORLD AWAY 7

DURING HIS FIRST few years in London, Har Dayal followed the program of study and research which he had consistently told the India Office was his plan. He was admitted to the doctoral program at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, submitting a dissertation, *The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature*, which was published in 1932. He was awarded the Doctor of Philosophy degree in 1930, however, and he wrote to a friend at that time, "These academic degrees do not mean much." Perhaps not, but he never failed thereafter to identify himself by the degree and the granting institution. Professor Ralph Turner was Har Dayal's supervisor in his doctoral program. Others with whom he worked were Mrs. Thomas William Rhys Davids and Professor Wilhelm Stede. Har Dayal, Sir Ralph said,

was a man of high principle and strong character. I greatly admired him. He was of course a rebel against the British Government of India. I do not now recall the history of his earlier activities (connected I believe with bomb outrages in the Punjab) but eventually he took refuge in Germany, remaining in Berlin during the 1914-1918 war and taking part in anti-British propaganda. Afterward he retreated to Scandinavia . . . from which he was given permission by the U. K. Government to come to England (but not to return to India): it was then he came to S. O. A. S.

Despite all that he had suffered from the English, he spent much of his time in trying to show Indian students in this country what he considered the best aspects of English character and actions; he used to take them to see the work of the Salvation Army, Boys' Clubs etc. etc. I should like this aspect of a very fine character was noted in any history of his life.

He then referred to Har Dayal's former personal association with the Kaiser, as he adds: "The late Dr. Raghu Vira when he was my pupil at S. O. A. S. visited the ex-Kaiser at Doorn, who asked him whether he knew his friend Har Dayal."¹

The Bodhisattva Doctrine in Buddhist Sanskrit Literature is still considered an authoritative work in its field. As specialized and as scholarly as it may be, Har Dayal was able to incorporate some of his basic beliefs in regard to religion, for example: "A great religion is not a dead static formula of salvation and ethics: it is always a living, dynamic, self-evolving and self-adjusting spiritual movement." Others of his recurring themes are present: "It is Personality that secures the triumph of a religious movement; the dogmas and precepts shine in the light reflected from Personality," and "Hinduism is a national religious and social system, like Confucianism and Judaism." His tendency to relate systems, either by comparison or contrast, is reflected in the following paragraph:

The *bodhisattva* ideal reminds us of the active altruism of the Franciscan friars in the thirteenth century A.D. as contrasted with the secluded and contemplative religious life of the Christian monks of that period. The monks prayed in solitude: the friar "went about doing good." The great Franciscan movement in the history of Christianity offers an interesting parallel to the Mahayana "revival" in Buddhism. Both the *arhat* [ascetic Buddhist "saint"] and the *bodhisattva* were unworldly idealists; but the *arhat* exhibited his idealism by devoting himself to meditation and self-culture, while the *bodhisattva* actively rendered service to other living beings. In the phraseology of modern psychology, an *arhat* was an "introvert," while a *bodhisattva* was an "extrovert."

In his concluding paragraph Har Dayal shows a rare lightness of touch: "Our task is done," he wrote. "The *bodhisattva*, who commenced his career with the 'thought of enlightenment' many aeons ago, has now become a perfectly enlightened Buddha. Wherefore we respectfully and regretfully take leave of him."²

HINTS FOR SELF-CULTURE

Two years later, in 1934, Har Dayal's second book, *Hints for Self-Culture*, was published. This book, he told Brooks:

contains my philosophical and ethical propaganda (including economics and politics). It aims at preaching the ideal of Freethought in a constructive fashion. The spiritual vacuum, in which most modern "advanced" people pass their lives, must be filled in. Something must take the place of the orthodox Christianity, which is now moribund for so many educated people and also for the intelligent workingmen.³

The scope of the book is almost overwhelming, but Har Dayal had in mind writing an even more comprehensive "companion" volume to it, which he planned to entitle, "The History of Civilization," incorporating, as well, "contemporary problems and conditions."⁴ In *Hints for Self-Culture*, Har Dayal said in a brief preface, "In this little book [363 pages],

I have tried to indicate and explain some aspects of the message of Rationalism for the young men and women of all countries," adding, "If it helps them in their efforts for self-improvement in the least degree, I shall be amply rewarded." He then addressed himself at greater length to the prospective reader, identified as "a young fellow rationalist." Rather pompously, he proceeded: "Life is a wonderful privilege. It imposes great duties. It demands the fulfilment of great tasks and the realization of noble ideas." But the young rationalist, he felt, found himself in "sad times of turmoil and tribulation" with mankind anxiously asking if there were a way out of "the gloom and horror of today into light and life." It was up to him "to blaze the trail for great movements" that would make for a "happier" world. His *Hints*, he said, were not exhaustive but suggestive; hopefully to help the young rationalist develop his personality in its four different aspects: intellectual, physical, aesthetic, and ethical.

According to the plan which he had outlined, Har Dayal divided the book into four chapters. Under the first heading, Intellectual Cultural, he included science, history, psychology, economics, philosophy, sociology, languages, and comparative religion, treating them all in a matter of about 125 pages. Under the second heading, Physical Culture, he discussed diet, proper health habits, exercise and sports, and concluded with the observation that "A happy mind makes a healthy body. . . . Therefore, always smile and be kind. That habit will also bring you good health as a blessing that is well deserved." The various sections bracketed under Aesthetic Culture are: theory and function of art, architecture, sculpture, painting, music, dancing and oratory, and poetry. All this is covered in 36 pages, and the rest of the book is devoted to discussions of personal ethics, personal service, the five circles (family, relatives, municipality, nation, world-state), economics again, and, finally, politics. Because of its comprehensive nature, the book is more a syllabus than anything else, exposing the reader to various sources, systems, and intellectual controversies as they occurred through the ages. It is charged with anecdotes, quotations, value judgments, and exhortations, ending with a plea for a world state with a world language and a world literature. He urged the establishment of Cosmopolitan Clubs in which all would cultivate the society of friends and strangers, either in person or by correspondence. The message preached should be peace, as others "howl in hate or rage for revenge. Welcome all to your home and heart, whites and blacks, browns and yellows, creoles and mulattoes, gypsies and Hottentots — all men and women and children without distinction of race or colour. Eat and drink with all. Love and serve all. Do good to all." The "corrupt" institutions of Capitalism and Nationalism were to be eschewed, and the young rationalists were told not to participate in "the parliaments, councils, armies, navies, law-courts, parties, and churches that uphold the present

system." He called into example the early Christian community, which "spurned and shunned the institutions of the Roman Empire." The world state, Har Dayal said, would come in its own good time.

. . . But if you live in the light of its Ideal now and here, you are already a citizen of that State. You belong to it. You may be born in the present nation-state, but you are not of it. Your heart is elsewhere. Waking and sleeping, you think of the World-State and long for its advent. When the Sun is still below the horizon in the early morning, he cannot be seen; but he sends before him sister Dawn, holy Ushas, radiant Aurora, who has also been deemed worthy of adoration. Such a slow-brightening Dawn are ye privileged to witness in this age, though your eyes cannot behold the Sun. Your children and grandchildren will rejoice in the light and warmth of the Sun that shall illumine the Earth in the days to come, the serene and spacious World-State, one and indivisible.

This was Har Dayal's "propaganda," which he had worked so long to effect. The book, which begins with a plea for rationalism, ends on this high note of emotionalism and morality. It is, in effect, his earlier revolutionary "Hardayalism" writ large: a free, united, and humanly perfect India has given way to a free, united, and humanly perfect world, having "One State, one Flag, one Language, one Ethic, one Ideal, one Love and one Life. . . ."⁵ This was also Har Dayal, the man without a country, finding his identification as a world citizen.

Gobind Behari Lal reviewed the book favorably for the Hearst newspapers with which he was associated but, privately, he had reservations about certain sections. Har Dayal, he said, was born with a sense of mission. "He thought of himself as some kind of savior, a messiah. He modeled himself after Buddha. He thought he was a man of genius and that he had to do something good for the world. This led to a weakness in his writing. His writing was so moralistic that it has become practically useless." *Hints*, he continued is a brilliant book in many ways and reflects some shrewd thinking. "But when I talked to him about it, I said, 'You are an authority on diet? You know nothing about diet and nutrition. You are just a fool.'" Lal said he also told him that he knew nothing about art: "You do know something about literature," I told him, "and what you write about history is excellent." Then Lal commented: "His insight into history was superb, and his knowledge of economics was very penetrating. Many things he said are sound today more than ever. What he said about war is absolutely true. His meliorist theory of history in this age of the atomic bomb makes a lot of sense. But when he talked about trying to make a movement out of rationalism, this, I told him, was baby talk." Lal also told him that he should take the nonsense about diet and sex out of his book: "You know nothing about it."

Har Dayal said that he would bear these comments in mind in any revision. "His modesty was very touching. His intellectual honesty was unique for any Indian," said Lal. He had acknowledged his weakness in the experimental sciences and had taken courses in this area at the University of London: "He said that he thought, as an intellectual, and as an honest man, he should know something about it." The legend is that he completed a Bachelor of Science degree, but the records of the University of London deny this. But whether he actually earned a degree is unimportant, Lal said: "Very few Indians — or anybody, for that matter — would go back and take undergraduate work after he had finished a Ph.D. I told him that I could not respect him more for his intellectual integrity."

Generally, *Hints for Self-Culture* was well received:

"Students of history, philosophy, science, and aesthetics, will find here a wealth of information from a definite viewpoint."

—*Liverpool Evening Express*

"Shows a gift for brief and pungent expression . . . an unflinching honesty of purpose . . . has much sound advice to give both on physical and mental culture."

—*Literary Guide*

"This is a book every student, academic or otherwise, should certainly acquire."

—*Edinburgh Evening News*

"The book covers a wide field of knowledge, and from it emerges a philosophy — a religion of service."

—*Teachers World*

"Packed with valuable suggestions, expressed with fine lucidity and a moving sincerity."

—*The Free Thinker*

"Worthy of a place in all libraries."

—*Plebs*

So read the blurbs on the paperback edition, still on sale in the bookstands of India.⁶ Anglo-Indian officials were not so enthusiastic. One said, "My impression of the book was that it was both dull and rather childish, and politically innocuous."⁷

THE MODERN CULTURE INSTITUTE

London proved a more exciting place for Har Dayal than Stockholm because of its many "societies and movements" to attract his interest.

Reference, for example, is made in intelligence reports to his association with the Bedwas Esperanto Society, Workers' Travel Association, the Ethical Church, Ramakrishna Vivekananda Vedantic Society, International Friendship League, Economic Reform Club, British Mahabodhi Society, and the World Fellowship of Faiths.⁸ None of these apparently proved totally satisfactory, so he organized his own Modern Culture Institute. In describing it to Van Wyck Brooks, he said, "We have lectures, study-classes, social service, a sunray clinic, political propaganda for socialism, ethical sermons, etc., etc."⁹ In a more formal statement, Har Dayal explained that the institute had been established "for the promotion and realisation of the philosophy of Dayalism; theoretical and practical," and that the movement aimed at the "progressive fulfillment of the complete ideal of personal and social life," as he had expounded it in *Hints for Self-Culture*. Then followed ten postulates:

This movement aims at the progressive fulfillment of the complete ideal of personal and social life expounded by Dr. Har Dayal's book, *Hints for Self-Culture* (Watts and Co., London).

I. The Universe

We believe in the existence of an eternal and universal energy, from which all phenomena proceed. The Universe is uncreated and indestructible. Space-Time, Causality and Flux — these three govern all phenomena. Nature is autonomous in its Evolution. There is no Absolute or Unconditioned. It is also necessary to postulate metaphysical entities like "life-force," "spirit," etc. We are Humanists and Rationalists. We promote Science and the scientific spirit. We are neither spiritualists or materialists, but simply scientists. We investigate all natural phenomena without making the division into Spirit and Matter.

II. Two Principles

The Universe, as observed and judged by Man, manifests two principles, Good and Evil. The Good consists of Life, Growth, Truth, Beauty, Happiness, Love, Knowledge, Health, Wealth, Virtue, Liberty, Equality, Fraternity, etc. The Evil is the opposite of these. But these principles are immanent in Nature and in Humanity; but they are not external to Nature and Humanity. We do not pray to any deity; we meditate on the Principle of Good.

III. Triumph of Good

This principle triumphs slowly but surely in biological evolution and in human civilisation. Its complete fulfillment depends entirely on the development of Human Personality, and not on any impersonal natural law. We are Personal Energists, not theological or pseudo-scientific fatalists.

IV. Human Personality

Our ideal is the complete and harmonious development of Human Personality in *all* its aspects: physical, intellectual, aesthetic, ethical, etc. Human Personality is creative and progressive. It is the supreme manifes-

tation of the Divine Principle of Good. Man is the highest being known to us at present.

We do not base Ethics and Conduct on the dogma of personal survival after death, rebirth, resurrection, etc. We must grow and do our duty, whatever may happen after death. Young people should avoid this morbid theme and concentrate their thoughts on the problems of this life and this world. Philosophical speculation on this subject may be permissible in old age, when some may welcome the prospect of rebirth on this earth for further development, but not for any reward or punishment. But this is not essential or important.

Above all, we are truly and certainly immortal, physically and mentally, in our children and their descendants.

V. Fourfold Development

We promote the fourfold development of Human Personality by all means in our power.

(a) *Physical Culture*: We teach the natural methods of maintaining health and curing disease (without drugs, sera, vaccines, etc.). We proclaim the gospel of Health and Healing through sunshine, water, pure air, gymnastics, sport, eugenics, wholesome food and drink, proper breathing, thought-control, optimism, etc., etc. We discourage the use of meat, alcohol and tobacco.

(b) *Intellectual Culture*: We exhort and help all to acquire some knowledge of Science, History, Comparative Religion, and other subjects. We insist on an all-around education. We also promote scientific and literary research.

(c) *Aesthetic Culture*: We teach all persons to appreciate the beauties of Nature and good Art in all its forms. We condemn sensationalism and sensualism in Art, and encourage only serene, sublime and sympathetic Art.

(d) *Moral Culture*: We honour and revere all the great teachers of the past, e.g., Zoroaster, Moses, Confucius, Laotse, Buddha, Mahavira, Krishna, Rama, Isaiah, Socrates, Plato, Aristotle, Zenon Epicurus, Jesus Christ, St. Francis, Muhammad, Jelal-ud-Dine, Spinoza, Kant, Comte, Steiner and others. We use suitable selections from their writings for our moral progress. We attach special importance to the works of the Hellenic philosophers.

We believe profoundly in the Unity of Humanity, and promote friendly intercourse and co-operation among all people. We combat all prejudices based on race, colour, nationality. We are consistent cosmopolitans. We teach Esperanto as an auxiliary language for world-unity.

We teach self-discipline and condemn sexual license and improper self-indulgence. The sexual impulse should be gratified in accordance with strict ethical rules, and a few may even sublimate it. We proclaim a new and noble code of sexual ethics for all men and women.

VI. Social Institutions

We work for the gradual establishment of social institutions based on Justice, Liberty, Equality and Fraternity in a World-State without sovereign national governments and without War.

VII. Festivals

We celebrate a festival each month in commemoration of the great events and personalities of World-History. Thus, in April, we remember Shakespeare and the great poets of all countries and nations. In September, we commemorate Comte, Bradlaugh and all pioneers of Rationalism. In July, we celebrate all democrats. And so on. Our festivals are truly international and universal, and they are related to all aspects of human progress and civilisation. We may also retain some old festivals like Easter, Christmas, Vesak, Id, etc.; but we interpret them in a new way.

VIII. Solemnities

We appreciate informal social functions on such important occasions as Birth, Name-giving, School-going, Economic independence, Marriage, Death, etc.

IX. Apostles

Some enthusiastic men and women are trained as apostles. They must give their whole time to the Service of the Movement. They receive no salaries and have no home. They are given simple food, clothes, etc., for maintenance. They must live at our Institutes. Some of them also renounce marriage and parenthood.

X. Twelve Precepts

Our precepts abolish and supersede all old commandments: —

- (1) Discard superstition and strive for the triumph of the principle of Good by developing Human Personality.
- (2) Take care of your body and enjoy good health and long life.
- (3) Develop your intellect and acquire Knowledge.
- (4) Cultivate and ennoble your Emotions, and learn to appreciate the beauties of Nature and good Art.
- (5) Love Humanity, do your Duty, and build up a noble character.
- (6) Work for social progress and establish institutions on the basis of Justice, Peace, Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity in a democratic World-State.
- (7) Be gentle and peaceful and refrain from violence and murder.
- (8) Be just and honest, and do not gamble, cheat or steal.
- (9) Be truthful and polite in speech.
- (10) Be pure and chaste and shun lewdness and adultery.
- (11) Abstain from narcotics and stimulants, or be very moderate in their use.
- (12) Be humane to all useful or harmless animals.

Thus the foundations of a new civilisation are well and truly laid. Thus begins a new era in the history of the human race.¹⁰

And thus, it might be added, ended Har Dayal's quest for a philosophic synthesis. What makes this a remarkable document is that it represents the distillation by an Easterner of all that he holds of value in the West.

What seems naive to a Westerner raised is the clichés of morality, justice, humility, democracy, equality, humanity, diligence, progress, and optimism become thrilling discoveries to someone born in a social tradition of rigid class stratification, where the individual is subordinate to family and kin; a political tradition based on the assumption that the strong will destroy the weak; an economic tradition of exploitation; a moral tradition wherein each man is his own keeper, responsible only for his own condition; a world view which sees the universe moving further and further away from perfection, and a religious tradition that sets man's ultimate goal as his individual release from the cycle of birth and rebirth.

To advertise the Institute, Har Dayal had posters printed.¹¹

MODERN
CULTURE INSTITUTE

FOR RATIONALISM,
SOCIALISM AND
SELF-CULTURE
(Physical, Mental, Aesthetic
and Ethical)

MEETINGS
and Lectures at 7 p.m. on the First and
Third Sundays in each month at
34, CHURCHILL ROAD, EDGWARE
(reached from Whitchurch Lane and
Montgomery Road)

Free Study Classes, Library, Health
Advice Centre, Social Service Department,
etc.

The Institute's season extended from approximately the last week in September until the middle of March. The remainder of the year Har Dayal and Agda Erikson spent at Chamonix, at the foot of Mont Blanc: "Har Dayal said the mountain air was so good for one — spiritually as well as physically."¹² The annual move to France was also made in the interest of Agda's health, since she had a history of tuberculosis.

M. L. Burnet, now of the staff of the British Humanist Association, says that the Modern Culture Institute "was an adult education centre

with a bias towards politics. Dayal gathered several persons around him who gave their services as tutors.”¹³ The 1934-1935 schedule of lectures was:

1934	1935
Sep. 23—Dr. HAR DAYAL: “A Rationalist & Socialist View of Life.”	Jan. 6—Dr. HAR DAYAL: “The Great Religions of the World.”
Oct. 7—Mr. J. H. LLOYD: “Public Health & Social Welfare.”	Jan. 20—A Symposium on Christianity (Several Speakers).
Oct. 21—Mr. E. F. W. POWELL M. N. C. A.: “Health through Natural Sources.”	Feb. 3—Dr. F. H. HAYWARD, D. Litt, B.Sc.: “Education & Ethics.”
Nov. 4—Dr. HAR DAYAL: “Science & Human Life.”	Feb. 17—A. F. DAWN, B.A., M.Sc “Freedom: the Ideal and Its Applications.”
Nov. 18—Mr. J. H. LLOYD: “Painting, Sculpture & Architecture.”	Mar. 3—Mr. W. O. ALLEN: “Social & Political Questions in Edgware and Little Stanmore.”
Dec. 2—Mr. A. E. SIMMONS, B.A.: “Literature & Life.”	Mar. 17—Dr. HAR DAYAL: “The Socialist State.” ¹⁴
Dec. 16—Miss ANNIE G. HENDERSON: “The Story of Music.” (with Records).	

Dr. John Lanning, a naturopathic and osteopathic physician, with offices in Hampstead and Oxford, said that he had been a frequent visitor to the Institute and often went to the Sunday evening gatherings where Har Dayal used to give talks to the twenty or so who would be present: “Those connected with the Institute were mostly young socialists and vegetarians but it was a very floating connection as there was no definite membership.” Har Dayal, he said, would speak on “some philosophical subject or another and members of the audience gave readings from the poets or joined in the discussion. I seem to remember always being asked to read parts of Shelley who was a favourite of his.”¹⁵

Mrs. Doris A. Smith, who describes herself as a member of the Society of Friends (Quakers) — “not the Pastoral kind of the Middle West, but akin to the Quiet Meetings of Philadelphia for instance” — says that she and her brother used to attend the discussions at the Modern Culture Institute, the “social evenings, sometimes a visit to a West End theatre to see e.g. ‘Oedipus’ and on one occasion we were all invited to the Hampstead home of Stanley Unwin of Allen and Unwin.” Mrs. Smith identified this firm as Har Dayal’s publishers but this was not the case; perhaps he had hopes. Of Har Dayal and his beliefs, Mrs. Smith said, “He was essentially an intellectual — left-wing and in religious terms, a humanist, I think, reverencing the truth and ethical content of all faiths, without being bound by their dogmas.” He was verbose, she added: “He used to talk and talk —in the way Indians tend to do—and read from learned books, particularly when it was a feast day of Buddha or Plato or perhaps some Christian Festival, but it was dispassionate and on an intellectual level.” One thing she remembered was that he had no sense of humor — “everything was very serious.”¹⁶

Not so, says Mr. A. F. Dawn, who was quite closely associated with Har Dayal in the Institute: “He certainly had a sense of humour,” he said, recounting this anecdote to support his contention: “I remember asking him when he intended to take up Russian and Chinese. (No Chinese on the horizon then.) He remarked humourously, ‘The doctrine of reincarnation is very convenient, I can leave the study of those to my next life.’ ” Perhaps he could — at this stage of his present existence Har Dayal reputedly already had thirteen languages at his command: German, French, Turkish, Italian, Latin, Greek, Sanskrit, Pali (the language of the Buddhistic scripts), Hindi, Arabic, Persian, Urdu, and English — not to mention Esperanto.

Mr. Dawn said that Har Dayal “talked very little about his revolutionary life in India, but the Indian students I met in the 1930 decade knew about him.” As for his interests, he commented: “I should say they were wide.” He was an agnostic or an atheist, he added, “probably the latter.” He was a socialist, “certainly against imperialism, certainly Westernized but not wholly and not in the religious sense but rather in the democratic sense, and yet he recognized the limitations since democratic votes put Hitler into power.” He was hard to characterize:

Although he said little about India, perhaps because of his pact with the British Government, I have no doubt that he loved his native land. As to the Hindu faith — it is very wide. It allows its followers to hold all sorts of different views so I would not like to say that he had no ties with it. He

probably had. I suppose he was more of a cosmopolitan. I suppose that there is a Har that we did not know — this may of course be true of a lot of people.¹⁷

LIFE STYLE AND ATTITUDES

Har Dayal practiced what he preached, perhaps living more modestly than some of his friends and relatives thought necessary. Gobind Behari Lal tells of their reunion in London in 1932: "When I saw him, he was very shaggy, with a moustache, and he had a piece of string hanging from his pocket which he said was tied to his key." Lal took him to a barber for a shave and a haircut, to a tailor's to be measured for new clothes, and got him some new shoes. "I wanted to get him a key chain, too."

Lal said that he could see that Har Dayal was isolated from Indians in London so he took him to dinner at the finest Indian restaurant in the city and told the proprietor to give them the best in the house because his guest was a very famous Indian leader. Then Har Dayal wished to reciprocate so he took Lal to "some kind of crazy place, a workingman's restaurant, he said." Lal recounts: "I picked up some oysters and choked on the things, which were more sand than oysters. I told the man who was running the place that he could be prosecuted for serving such food. He was frightened and said he would give me two shillings back." Har Dayal was most apologetic, but Lal had had enough of that kind of hospitality, so he took Har Dayal to the Savoy "where we got some decent food. I asked him why he lived like this." Lal added: "I told him, though, that he still meant the same to me and he was very much moved." During that visit, Har Dayal had taken his kinsman to his home in Edgware and showed him his library, but he never mentioned Agda Erikson. The family was totally unaware of her until some years after her death: "Somebody told me about her. He never did. If a man doesn't trust me that much, what can I do?"

Another glimpse of Har Dayal during those years comes from Bhai Parmanand and his son-in-law, Dharmavira, who were in London the summer of 1933. Parmanand was there to attend the hearings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, whose work resulted in the Government of India Act of 1935. He also attended sessions of the World Monetary and Economic Conference. For the month or so he was there, he saw Har Dayal almost every day, and Dharmavira shared their meetings. Also commenting on Har Dayal's isolation, Dharmavira said, he "shunned the company of Indian students, some of whom had played monkey-tricks with him, by reporting to the interested quarters things which were not true." Dharmavira confirms that Har Dayal had remained aloof from politics. Bhai

Parmanand suggested to Har Dayal that he write a book on nationalism, and Har Dayal, who was then finishing *Hints*, said that he might have to postpone writing a book on the subject but that he could write a pamphlet. Subsequently, he apologized for having delayed with the chore, and Dharmavira quotes his explanation as follows: "I want to write in a bit scholarly manner, so that this pseudo-nationalism is washed off from the minds of Hindu youths and they begin to feel that what they term as Hindu communalism is, according to the tenets of political science, real nationalism."

Dharmavira said that he did ask Har Dayal for his suggestions for improving the political status of India, and the former revolutionary repeated what he had said in his earlier writings — that public schools should be founded in the hills to produce future statesmen and nation-builders. He said Nepal should be the site because it was free of Western influence and that the Nepalese had "new blood, new life in them." Besides, he added, "they are a simple people. The geographical position of Nepal is also very good, perhaps unique. They are well-protected; natural forces are defending them. Once I decided to go to Nepal. While staying in Sweden I drew up a plan about this. I thought of crossing Russia into Tibet and from there going to Nepal." He gave up the idea, though, since "the scheme was rather odd because it would have taken me good time and expenses, too, would have been considerable." He now thought it better to go by way of India — but he still wanted to go to Nepal.¹⁸

Dharmavira spoke with real emotion of his meetings with Har Dayal in England. "He was a lovely personality. You needed only to sit with him for three or four hours to know that no other person could be like him. His appearance might not appeal to an American — he was rather darkish — but his inner side was altogether lovely. I love to remember those evenings with him — those times. It was a treat to be with him and to listen to his conversation. One of the things about him that was most striking was his sincerity — his earnestness about anything he took up. You will not find this in ordinary persons."

Another countryman of Har Dayal who was to report on having met and talked with him in London was the illustrious Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru, the grand old Liberal, who was in London in 1935, and who had invited Har Dayal to come and see him. Har Dayal had taken the initiative, though, by writing Sir Tej a letter. "I was most pleased to meet him as he was so frank and took a very dispassionate view of things," Sir Tej said. His full account of the meeting follows:

He told me how he left Germany just before the conclusion of the war for Sweden and how he lived in solitude there for years reviewing his

whole life. He then asked for permission to be allowed to come back to England. He was told that he could come but Government were not prepared to give him any kind of undertaking as to whether they would put him on trial or not. After some years he did come to England and was not prosecuted. He has since been living there the life of a scholar, has taken his doctorate at the London University and is much interested in Buddhism. He presented me with his two books, one on self-help, which I have read with great interest, and the other on Buddhism. He has been working in close cooperation with Sir Francis [Younghusband] and other scholars. He takes no part in political affairs, but has kept up intelligent interest in politics. He confessed to me that after prolonged consideration and after going through blood-curdling experiences during the war in Germany and Turkey had come to the conclusion that India's salvation did not lie in revolution, but in continuing as a member of the British Commonwealth.

This, then, was Har Dayal's story as he preferred it told. As for his political views, Sir Tej said that he discussed the Government of India Bill and showed considerable knowledge of the proceedings of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and the Round Table Conferences. Although he thought the constitution defective in some respects, it offered a chance of political unity and, for this reason, Har Dayal thought it should be accepted. He did not think that the Indian states were going to send their representatives to the federation by election but that in time they would come around. Har Dayal's objection to the constitution was that it did not provide for joint electorates but "he realised our failure to compose our differences at the time of the Round Table Conference was in no small measure responsible for what happened." The second time Har Dayal talked with Sir Tej, the political question was whether Congress should accept office or not, and Har Dayal was of the opinion that it should.

Sir Tej's overall view was that Har Dayal had sincerely changed and that he seemed "full of admiration for the practical genius of the British people. I did not find any trace of bitterness in him and altogether the impression left on my mind was that of a highly cultured and scholarly man who had the moral courage to revise his opinion and admit his error." He called attention to the fact that Har Dayal knew so many languages "so well," and made reference to his "obsession" with the idea that Indian youths should be taught the elements of Greek culture and civilization.

Sir Tej concluded by reiterating his respect for Har Dayal's "intellectual and moral courage," adding that he would advise that "if reference could be made to men like Sir Francis Younghusband and others with whom he has been collaborating it will be found that not only is he a man of highest intellect but also of highest character." His final word was that he did not believe that Har Dayal was a revolutionary any longer.¹⁹

Sir Francis did not concur with Sir Tej on all counts. He had "come

across him" in connection with the World Fellowship of Faiths, and had known something of his revolutionary activities since he had worked in the India Office during World War I. He said, "I found him in his philosophical and religious activities to be very brilliant but very unattractive."²⁰

All of these comments involve only Har Dayal himself and clarify only those associations he had beyond the Modern Culture Institute. None of them take into consideration the Hindu's life with Agda Erikson. For this, we can turn to Mrs. J. H. Lloyd, whose late husband, like Mr. Dawn, had been a speaker on the Institute's program. Mrs. Lloyd writes:

We knew Har Dayal and his Swedish wife very well when we lived in Edgware. They were such an interesting couple, but throughout our acquaintanceship we found them both reluctant to discuss politics. Other cultural subjects, such as music, literature and humanism were open to discussion. However, I understood from Har Dayal that he was not allowed to go back to India because of his past political activities, and that he was also warned (by whom I don't know) that he should play it cool on politics even in this country. So my husband and I refrained from embarrassing him in any way and enjoyed his society. He was very informal, calling at any time of day without notice. We liked that—our two young sons the Dayals always talked to and sent them picture post-cards whenever they went to the south of France in the winter months, I understand for Mrs. Dayal's sake. I believe she had some evidence of T.B. She wore William Morris style of dress, beautiful in texture and colour, but in no way the prevailing fashion. He was dressed conventionally in Western style, but wore cream cotton suits in the summer. She also wore her long fair hair in a pigtail though she celebrated her fiftieth birthday while we were in Edgware, 1926-1936.

His Modern Culture Institute gave rise to some amusement among some local people, for it was a very modest terrace house in a real working-class street with four rooms and scullery. The front-room was lined in books and had no carpet and lots of straight-backed wooden chairs. This is where his Sunday evening meetings took place. The smaller back room had one long refectory table and whenever I saw it, it was laid with a variety of good simple foodstuffs — lots of fruit, nuts, cheese, wholemeal bread etc. — nothing cooked and all of the best quality. Outside the back door they had put up a glass verandah where there was a camp bed for the little boy next door, whose mother helped Mrs. Dayal with the housework. This was the boy they half adopted and took with them on their foreign holidays. He also came in for some inheritance from them, but we had left Edgware at the time.

The upstairs was as simple as the rest — camp beds, and small primer stoves in each of the bedrooms, where they betook themselves separately, I presume.

The small garden was neat and delightful. They always welcomed the whole family, children especially. At the end of each visit to our house they expressed appreciation of our fare, spiritual and bodily, they said, which was very kind of them.²¹

One more charming insight comes from Elisabet Hammar, who titles her contribution, "A Few Snapshots from the Dayals' every-day life":

In June, 1933, I was in London on a scholarship, and then I met the Dayal family a couple of times. I have no remarkable things to relate, but just a few glimpses of what I saw with them.

I had wondered if Agda had given up her social work, but I now am convinced she still had her settlement work in mind. One day she took me with her to a nursery centre, McMillan Nursery School. I found that she knew the people well there and was interested in their problems and experiments. I am sure she was planning to bring new ideas into her dear Kinnaström settlement.

H. D. was always anxious when he knew that Agda was out in the traffic jam without his aid and support. "When we are out together he always wants to hold my arm," she said with a hearty laughter. "'Shall we be overrun, let it be at the same time for us both,' he says."

This summer Agda had a dear guest from home, a nephew of about 21 or 22, who was in England for studies. He stayed in their house. For his pleasure Agda bought a car, and thanks to that, I too saw much of the surroundings from the fine car driven by the young man. I remember a wonderful trip to Oxford, where we looked at some of the finest old colleges. The way back was taken via Henley. There we sat outside a small restaurant on the bank of the Thames and had our 5 o'clock tea. Then I had a great disappointment. The waiter brought a big dish of fresh strawberries to be eaten with bread and butter. Without asking anybody, H. D. told him to take those away and bring lettuce instead. I never saw a person eat such quantities of lettuce as H. D. He was a vegetarian, but not of the severest sort. I have always thought of those disappearing strawberries with sadness. Why did he not ask the rest of us?

H.D. surely thought he was very broadminded, and in many respects he was, but the Oriental view of woman was too deep in him to be pulled up with the roots. I guess — notice: guess — that it was not always easy for a Swedish lady to live with a man from India. He used to call his wife "Sankta Agda," which was indeed a suitable name for a person so self-forgetting as Agda. But I am not sure she liked it, and I do not know if it was said without irony. [All of Har Dayal's books were dedicated to "Sankta Agda, in token of friendship and esteem."]

Still I cannot deny that I saw many tokens of his consideration and respect for her. An example: One day I was invited to dinner at the Dayals' with the nephew, in Edgware. Agda had cooked poultry with various kinds of vegetables in a pot. But there were no potatoes on the table. "Fetch the potatoes, please," she asked the nephew. "No, please don't, said H. D.," apparently nervous. "It is better without potatoes." She said, "Of course, we shall have potatoes. They are ready in the kitchen." But H. D. held the nephew back with growing anxiety. At last Agda jumped up and ran into the kitchen. After a little while she came back, laughing her hearty, natural laugh that one felt so liberating. And then we learnt that the water had boiled away and the potatoes were burnt black and uneat-

able. H. D.'s anxiety that we two guests should get a poor opinion of Agda's skill as a housewife was moving.

I have no remembrance of any discussion with H. D. I suppose we three Swedes spoke Swedish and that he had begun to forget our language. As to appearance, my husband has told you that he was not at all of the Tagore type of Indian. He was rather small than tall, had a broad, almost square head, very thin wrists, and what we call the white of the eye was violet.²²

This, then, is how Har Dayal was seen through Western eyes.

WRITINGS, POLITICAL AND RELIGIOUS

One of the "little" magazines to which Har Dayal contributed was the *Plebs*, subtitled. "Labour's Oldest and Liveliest Monthly." In this he was in company with Bertrand Russell, Ellen Wilkinson, and another Buddhist scholar, Edward Conze, then concerned about war, Fascism, and the scientific method of thinking. Har Dayal's contribution was a series of articles under the title, "Pioneers of Socialism," in which he told of the contributions of the obscure Morelly, Francois Noel Babeuf, William Godwin, Thomas Spence, and Philippe Buonarroti. In introducing the series, the editors commented: "Every well-grounded Socialist should have some knowledge of the evolution of Socialist theory, and we feel that Dr. Har Dayal's articles will be a very useful contribution to our educational work." The articles fulfilled this purpose, providing readers with biographical background on the various thinkers, with excerpts from their writing.²³ They were, as to be expected, laudatory in nature, but reflect little of Har Dayal's own economic philosophy. They are more interesting for the company they keep, rather than anything else.

Edward Conze remembers his fellow contributor with warmth:

In 1933 I came to England as a refugee from Germany where I had been a communist, and by way of gradually shedding my communism I first worked a great deal for *Plebs*. I often saw Har Dayal . . . but we were somewhat at cross purposes all the time. I was slowly moving in the direction of Mahayana Buddhism to which I have devoted all my energies after 1938 or 1939, and turned to him for information on this subject which by that time had failed to interest him very much. On the other hand he expected to learn from me about the various trends in European socialism in which I myself became increasingly less interested. His "Bodhisattva Doctrine," which . . . has been reprinted in India, has been a great stand-by in all my classes on Buddhism for many years now. Unfortunately I never succeeded in making contact with his wife whom I vaguely remember as a rather colourless Swede. As for him I cherished him as a truly lovable person . . . who befriended me at a time when I was a rather bewildered refugee in the huge city of London.²⁴

This is a tribute which Har Dayal would have cherished: evidence of acceptance on the plane of equality.

Har Dayal was to write one more book, *Twelve Religions and Modern Life*, which was privately published, bearing the imprint, "Edgware (Middlesex) England: Modern Culture Institute, 1938." By way of preface to this work, he wrote:

In this essay I have attempted to indicate some elements of permanent value in twelve religious systems from the standpoint of modern Humanism. The new gospel of Constructive Humanism comes to fulfill all the old dispensations. Their objectionable features are noted very briefly, but their merits are explained and expounded for the benefit of the Humanists and others.

The twelve religions discussed are Zoroastrianism, Judaism, Shinto, Taoism, Confucianism, Hinduism, Jainism, Buddhism, Christianity, Islam, Sufism, and Positivism. Dharmavira notes that in his discussion of Hinduism, Har Dayal's comments were favorable.²⁵ They were, after he had disposed of its "many defects," which he listed as:

its polytheism and image-worship, its ceremonialism, its caste system and priestcraft, its rites for the dead, its mysticism and quietism, its monism, pantheism and monotheism, its nationalism and exclusiveness, its heavens and hells, its grotesque gods and goddesses, its phallic symbols and erotic legends, its deification of Nature, etc.

As for the eternal liberation of the soul, he asks, "Who wants this empty uncertain nebulous *moksha*?" and answers, "Not I. . . ." On the plus side, he cites as of permanent value: (1) Hinduism's special stress on the idea of social duty; (2) its ideal of the priest-scholar, combining moral excellence with intellectual attainments; (3) Hinduism's value of the true spiritual life "more highly than any dogma or doctrine. It teaches us to revere all virtuous saints and sages, whether they be atheists, pantheists, Moslems, Christians, or Hindus;" (4) its praise of truth and truthfulness; (5) the importance attached to the stability of the family; (6) Hinduism's emphasis on wisdom and care in the choice of food and drink; (7) its precept that old age should be spent in serenity and self-control; and, finally, (8) its introduction of *Yoga* techniques insofar as it can develop the personality by inculcating habits of discipline in physical activity, emphasizing the importance of regular meditation and concentration. He also paid tribute to Hinduism's ethical standards. Those figures of Hinduism to whom he paid special tribute were Krishna, Rama, Kabir, Tulsi Das, Nanak, Govind Singh, Raja Ram Mohun Roy, Maharishi Debendranath Tagore,

Keshub Sundra Sen, Swami Dayananda, Hans Raj, Swami Shraddhananda, Swami Rama Tirtha, Gopal Krishna Gokhale, Aurobindo Ghose, Ramakrishna, Swami Vivekananda, and Swami Shivananda.²⁸

PASSAGE TO INDIA

Har Dayal's return to England was viewed by India Office officials as little more than a steppingstone to his return to India, and this raised questions as to what precautions should be taken. They were aware that if he "chose to lie low and behave himself" in England for two or three years, it would be difficult to seize him for trial when and if he arrived in India: "Public opinion would probably take the line that if Government were in earnest, they should have launched a case the first moment that Har Dayal came into their hands, i.e., as soon as possible after his arrival in England." They had also been aware that their case was shaky; therefore it was considered wise to let him alone in England rather than "to have all the trouble, expense, and possible public excitement that the trial of Har Dayal would involve." Delhi and Punjab officials were consulted, and they strongly opposed the granting of any assurance which "would facilitate his return." Some thought that Har Dayal should not even be permitted to remain in England "to infect Indian students with his revolutionary and communal ideas."

In spite of such expressions of alarm, British officialdom was aware that "it would be contrary to accepted policy to keep Har Dayal indefinitely out of India." It was concluded however, that "arrangements could be made to delay his return." And there was the hope of "the possibility that he himself would be afraid to return." To put the matter on a sounder basis, it was decided to reexamine thoroughly all evidence against Har Dayal and to reevaluate the strength of the case against him. Once more, the British decided that threat was the strongest weapon. Setting in motion a full-scale investigation would put Har Dayal back in the limelight, but this was not to be considered a serious disadvantage: "Should it have the effect of frightening him away from England, we should not particularly regret it. Of course, if, as the result of the enquiry, we decide not to proceed, Har Dayal would feel that his position was much strengthened. But . . . in any case we have reached the conclusion that unless we prosecute now we shall not prosecute at all." The secretary of state for India, weighing this opinion, came to the conclusion that it would be doubtful "whether a prosecution after all of these years would be advisable," and observed that "the case would be different if Har Dayal were to commit any fresh offence or to bring himself under serious suspicion." Punjabi officials called attention to the *Sudharsan* article (with its reference to a national army), saying that it showed clearly that Har Dayal could not but be regarded

with "grave suspicion," but let it drop there. Sir David Petrie, the director of intelligence in India, summed up:

I am opposed to the launching of extradition proceedings on the practical ground that they stand no reasonable chance of success. On the other hand, I am satisfied that a decision to drop any idea of action at this stage will not appreciably weaken Government's position, if and when they come to prosecute Har Dayal in India. It will be remembered that the question of extradition was first raised by the consideration that the Crown might be hampered in prosecuting Har Dayal on his return to India after some years of harmless residence in England, without their having taken steps to arrest a supposedly important and dangerous offender when he first entered British jurisdiction. I believe that the above objection is almost completely met by the examination of evidence now concluded. The Crown's answer will be that legal opinion was sought on the question of extradition, but as proceedings could be taken only in respect of that part of Har Dayal's career which related to his activities in enemy countries in time of War, the Government were compelled by the poverty of the material capable of production in Court to abandon the idea of getting him extradited.

I advise, therefore, that the above considerations be placed before the Punjab Government, and that they be told that in the opinion of the Government of India the idea of extradition proceedings should be dropped, unless and until further evidence is forthcoming.

This was the situation at the end of 1928. No warrant for Har Dayal's arrest was issued, although the Punjab government was given permission to investigate what kind of a case might be pressed against Har Dayal if he voluntarily returned to India.²⁷

On December 30, 1935, Har Dayal renewed his request for amnesty. He had been in England, now, for more than eight years, had received his Ph.D. degree, and had published his *Hints*, the book he considered his *tour de force*. The government of the Punjab, once more consulted, saw no change in the situation and reaffirmed that Har Dayal "should in no circumstances be given an amnesty and that if it were possible to refuse an endorsement on Har Dayal's passport for India, this should be done." Thus the official view of the matter remained substantially unchanged: "a prosecution would give an infinite amount of trouble and even if a conviction was secured the publicity that would be given to seditious activities of many years ago might do more harm than good and might infect the youth of the Punjab with revolutionary ideas." It was decided that the easiest course was to try to keep Har Dayal out of India on the rather interesting basis that "if he had been placed on trial during the war, he would almost certainly have been hanged." The viceroy concurred with the government of Punjab position, as did the secretary of state for India, although instructions were given to reexamine the matter every six months, whether Har Dayal pressed the issue, or not.²⁸

And it was not he who pressed on the next occasion of the subject of his political amnesty. On September 15, 1937, Mr. Brijlal Biyani rose in the Council of State and introduced a resolution to recommend to the governor general that Raja Mahendra Pratap, Professor Khankhoje, Har Dayal, "and other political exiles be allowed to return to India." The cases of the first two named were readily dismissed. The Raja now claimed to be of Afghan nationality, and the professor had become a Mexican citizen. The discussion, then, centered on Har Dayal. In introducing the resolution, Mr. Biyani called attention to the fact that the Government of India Act of 1935 had given popular government in seven provinces and that "the prisoners of yesterday are the Prime Ministers of today." Similarly, "the revolutionaries of yesterday are the reformists of today." It was time, he said, for the government of India to change its attitude toward those who had been banished from their homeland and "honour the popular sentiment of the country." He asked that a general assurance be given that no action would be taken against any Indian returning to his homeland unless there were specific orders against him. He added that if such orders existed, they should be removed if alleged activities (he was careful not to say "seditious activities") had occurred 20 or 30 years before. The Gandhian view, he continued, now "pervaded the whole political atmosphere of the country" and nonviolence had "replaced the old violent methods." Government should overcome its "nervousness," he argued, and allow all political exiles to return to India and, if necessary, try them "under the changed political condition of the country." Generally, Indian members rose in support of the resolution, although some reservations were expressed that such support should not be considered as condoning violence. As for Har Dayal, he received his strongest affirmation from P. N. Saprú, the son of Sir Tej, who held that Har Dayal was no longer a revolutionary and "might not even be found on the Progressive Benches." Speaking to the Home Member, he said,

Then Sir, why not allow a man like Lala Hardayal to return? You had no objection when circumstances forced you to make peace with Cosgrave and DeValera. You tolerated DeValera and would like to be on good terms with him. Surely Lala Hardayal's crime has not been greater than DeValera's crime or Cosgrave's crime. He has recanted; DeValera has not recanted and yet you would like to be on good terms with him. Why not then as a Government conscious of its strength allow Lala Hardayal to return to this country?

Opposition to the resolution had a familiar ring, but came this time from the mouth of an Indian, who said that

. . . while all other civilised countries in the world are getting rid of the communistic and revolutionary elements and getting rid of them with an

iron hand, we in India cannot for a moment allow such people as Mr. Biyani has mentioned to return to this country. These people are a great danger to public peace and tranquillity and should not be given any room in this country. I therefore appeal to the Government of India not to allow such notorious criminals to return to this country.

Mr. R. M. Maxwell, the home member, presented the government's case, and began by saying that terms like "banishment" and "exiles" were misleading, since those men under discussion were "one and all either fugitives from justice — absconding offenders — or persons who have left India in order the better to pursue the plots against the State." In the light of this, he preferred the term, "absconders." He said that requests had not come for permission to return to India but for amnesty. As regards Har Dayal, Mr. Maxwell recounted his history as a revolutionary and said that, "If Mr. Hardayal likes to come to India and stand his trial for waging war against the King-Emperor and various other revolutionary conspiracies, he is welcome to do so." He added that in his opinion, Har Dayal's revolutionary views have not changed. He cited the judgement in the First Lahore Conspiracy Case in which Har Dayal had been described as "a dangerous monomaniac, devoid of any trace of moral or physical courage, who while inducing his dupes to go to a certain fate carefully kept himself out of trouble." He concluded: "So, I cannot congratulate the Honourable Mover on his selection of that person to champion."

After Mr. Maxwell's presentation, the tone of the session changed, and Mr. Biyani rose to point out that his "simple resolution" had been "magnified into a dangerous one." In a final plea, he said, "whatever the fate of my Resolution, howsoever the Government or some of my friends look at the activities of these people, these people are honoured names in the history of India. They are honoured by Indians and whatever the attitude of the Government may be, they will remain honoured. If Government would like to taste that, let them allow these people back and see what reception India gives them." When the final vote was taken, however, the resolution was defeated.²⁹

During the debate, Mr. Maxwell had said that if Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru would give "an authoritative account" of Har Dayal's "mentality," that he then might be able to help him, "if he chooses to move in the matter." Sir Tej chose to move by issuing a public statement which was carried in most of the newspapers in India. Much of what he had to say has already been quoted, save, perhaps, his concluding remark that he strongly urged that Har Dayal be allowed to return to India: no matter "whoever else may or may not be allowed to come back, no hindrance should be placed in his way."³⁰

The India Office noted Sir Tej's comments and decided to reopen the

case, even though Har Dayal had never himself requested "passport facilities" for a trip to India. Officials in India held firm in their stand that Har Dayal was still a revolutionary, with Mr. Maxwell calling Sir Tej's statement a "whitewash," and urging that Har Dayal continue to be "discouraged" from attempting to return. Intelligence reports still flowed in, one of which said that Har Dayal realized that the Government of India did not propose to abandon its intent of putting him on trial so he was not going to try to return for another three or four years, when he might take the risk. It was also reported that he was deeply interested in the *Kisan Sabha* (peasants) movement and that he was considering writing a 500-page history of India "from a national standpoint." It was further claimed that some of Har Dayal's friends in India had secured the names of certain agents working for the C.I.D. and proposed to circulate these names to revolutionary organizations in the United Provinces and the Punjab. One agent analyzed *Hints for Self-Culture* in revolutionary terms and came up with the not-too-startling conclusion that Har Dayal was "bitterly anti-capitalist" and against private ownership of land. Further, "He is a keen apostle of nationalism and favours complete independence of the individual in religion and politics. He is intensely pacifist, but admits that force must be employed on occasions." On the whole, however, Har Dayal's views were not seen as much different from those held by any ardent member of the Independent Labor Party, but his conception of the world state had best be classified "fantastic."

This was pretty slim pickings, and about the best that the director of intelligence could come up with was that Har Dayal was "at heart as much a revolutionary as ever and believes in ultimate independence for India." It was added that he "lacked courage to execute his convictions," and "He must therefore be regarded as an opportunist who is apt to temper his conduct to the prevailing winds." His sympathy with workers was called real, and it was anticipated that he would participate in the socialist movement were he in India. Mention was also made of his desire to go to Nepal: "He has some vague idea that if educated by suitable propaganda, the Nepalese, who he much admires, would be useful adjuncts in securing Indian Independence. Failing Nepal, he might seek some similar post in Kashmir."

In short, there was little in the secret files that Har Dayal had not openly said. There was, however, one interesting comment in regard to his private life. He was described as a man who generally enjoyed good health but had "lost practically all his former fire and vigour. He never introduces his Swedish 'wife,' on whom he is dependent for his support, to other Indians, although in English circles, she passes as 'Mrs. Har Dayal.' It cannot be said whether he would take her to India with him: he already has a wife and grown-up daughter in India."

This wife in India now approached the home member through a family attorney, who suggested that the Sapru statement had cast new light on Har Dayal's case and asked for an appointment to discuss the matter. The attorney was summarily informed that in view of the fact that "enquiries are still proceeding . . . no useful purpose would be served" by granting such an interview. This was in February of 1938, with eight months to go before a final decision was reached. In the meantime, Har Dayal was asked to give a written undertaking that he would not participate "directly or indirectly in any unconstitutional movement," and, in the light of this, the government of the Punjab and the viceroy stated that no objection would be raised to Har Dayal's being allowed to return to India, if such permission were granted by the secretary of state. Certain stipulations were made, but the prime concern was that no deal would be made that would tie the hands of intelligence officials in "raking up" Har Dayal's past. Finally, on October 25, 1938, a letter was dispatched to Har Dayal in which he was told that permission would be granted him to return to his native land.³¹ It had to be forwarded from his Edgware address because, by then, he and Agda Erikson were in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania.

DEATH IN THE UNITED STATES

The return trip to the United States was made via Sweden, where Har Dayal's former associates were struck by his improved appearance. He was now clean shaven, his hair was neatly trimmed, his clothes were in good taste and good order, and his general appearance was of well-being and affluence. He was even said to have gained weight, which was in contrast to his "ascetic" appearance of old.³²

Har Dayal and Agda were residing in Philadelphia, apparently because he had been invited to deliver a series of lectures under the auspices of the Society for Ethical Culture, and organizations of a like nature.³³ He did call on Professor William Norman Brown at the University of Pennsylvania and present him with some of his books, but took no part in campus activity. Dr. Brown recalls that he was "rather unimpressive," thus confirming the report that he had lost his "fire and vigour."

Har Dayal continued, however, to be a popular speaker and seemed to have retained his dynamism in that area. One of his earliest appearances in the United States was at the Armistice Day observance sponsored by the World Fellowship of Faiths held at the Hotel Iroquois in New York. He sent his friend, Van Wyck Brooks, the printed postcard announcement of this event, on the face of which was a series of "Press Opinions on Dr. Har Dayal," selected, perhaps to reflect an international reputation:

Palestine Post (Jerusalem):

"Dr. Dayal's private reading is truly colossal."

The New Humanist (Chicago):

"A cosmopolitan spirit of unusual erudition."

Freedom (London):

"Dr. Dayal is in the direct line of the Encyclopedists."

San Francisco News:

"An extraordinarily original and sympathetic mind."

On the obverse was further encomium:

A most remarkable Hindu Visitor
DR. HAR DAYAL, M.A., Ph.D. (LONDON)

A brilliant public speaker, author of many books in English. An eminent scholar in Literature, Religion, History, Sociology and Philosophy. Lecturer in English, French, German and Swedish.

"Noted Oxford and London University Scientific thinker," says *New York American*. The great Hindu leader, late Lajpat Rai, wrote, "Dr. Har Dayal is a unique personality. He lives a life of purity and wants others to do the same. He is loved and respected by hundreds of his countrymen."³⁴

The title of Har Dayal's speech on that occasion was, "Psychology and World Peace," and this was to be the basic theme of most of his lectures in the United States, as well as of an article published in *New History* in December of 1938, entitled "The Inevitability of Pacifism." This article is truly remarkable in that Har Dayal establishes as his premise the concept that "Biology clearly demonstrates that human nature is radically and fundamentally pacifist." He then went on to say, "Pacifism is broad-based and solidly grounded on this biological and psychological verity: *Human nature is peaceful*. If this were not so, our endeavors would be futile and fantastic, for no one can defy Mother Nature. Now we are convinced that we are on the right track, and this universal law will justify us." This was later to be the thesis of Konrad Lorenz' *Das Sogenannte Boese*, in which, on the basis of scientific observation of intra-species aggression among some of the higher animals, he denied that man's animal nature explained or justified human forms of aggression.³⁵

Har Dayal was perhaps extravagant in calling this a "universal law," but he seemed, indeed, to be "on the right track." Unfortunately, newspaper coverage of Har Dayal's speeches centered on the more sensational clichés of pacifism, such as, "The gospel of poison gas obtains instead of the gospel of the spirit. . . . Every air pilot is a potential baby killer and woman poisoner, camouflaging his objectives by the cant and claptrap: 'For freedom,' 'for democracy,' 'for justice.'"³⁶

During his stay in the United States, Har Dayal also contributed "A Preface to Buddhism" to the *Bible of Mankind*, a remarkably lucid state-

ment of the Buddha's contribution to religion, reflecting, of course, many of Har Dayal's own convictions. Buddhist teachings, he said, reemphasized "certain aspects of Hinduism — namely, the eternity of the Universe, the non-existence of an immutable sub-stratum of entity, the rebirth of the soul in many incarnations and the final destiny of perfection for all living beings. He emphasized the fact of Suffering (*dukkha*) and found the remedy for this evil in the suppression of Craving (*tanha*) and Hatred (*dose*)." But for Har Dayal, most of all the Buddha "inculcated the great principle of the equality of all races, nations, classes, and castes. He was regarded only as a great man, a 'finder of a new path,' not as a demi-god. He condemned magic and miracle-mongering. He propounded a comprehensive system of moral culture mixed with only a little theology and metaphysics."³⁷

One of the most astonishing events in which Har Dayal participated in the United States was a dinner given in New York on January 20, 1939, by the "Friends of the Duke of Windsor in America." The objective of this group was to appoint the Duke of Windsor as the "First Ambassador-at-Large for Democracy and Peace." He was to be deputed to call on Adolf Hitler and to persuade him to think in terms of world peace, rather than world conquest. On this occasion, Har Dayal wore a white tie, tails, but a turban instead of the traditional top hat. In the caption of the picture taken of him at the speakers' table, which appeared in the April 1939 issue of *New History*, the editors pointed out that Har Dayal was "taking the chance of being misunderstood by his compatriots" in taking part "in such a tribute that was accorded to the British citizen, one-time King Emperor."³⁸ On the other hand, his might have been seen in British circles as a satisfactory reinforcement of the decision to allow Har Dayal to return to India.

When Har Dayal received the letter from the India Office stating that he would be allowed to return to India without fear of arrest and subsequent prosecution, he replied:

I beg to thank the Secretary of State for India, the Government of India and the Punjab Government for their kindness and magnanimity in granting me a legal amnesty. I shall return to India in course of time in accordance with the stipulations which I beg to accept. I am unable to state when I shall make the journey. I shall return to England from the United States in April 1939, and I have promised to preside at the Summer School of the Peace Academy in Switzerland in August. I have also received an invitation from the World Fellowship of Faiths for a lecture tour in America during the winter of 1939-1940.

I shall, however, apply for the endorsement of my passport for India soon after my return to England in the last week of April. I shall be much obliged if the Passport Office will endorse the passport also for Ceylon,

Siam and Burma, where I intend to study some manuscripts of the Buddhist scriptures before proceeding to India."

It is doubtful whether the India Office saw its action as amounting to the granting of legal amnesty, especially in view of the stipulations which Har Dayal had mentioned: first, that the Punjab government would not hesitate to take action should there be any breach of his undertaking, and, second, that he would be required to surrender his passport on arrival and not be allowed to go abroad again.³⁹ However gracious his letter may have sounded, he was privately galled — "disgusted," said Gobind Behari Lal. "He said he had bowed too much to the British government. They were giving him clearance to go to India but not to come back."

Lal said that he did not know then that Agda Erikson was the "key to the whole situation." Lal said that he had expected Har Dayal to notify him when he planned to arrive in New York so that he could meet him, but he went straight to Philadelphia and then wrote from there. Obviously, Lal says now, "he didn't tell me when he was arriving because of my relationship to him through his wife. He had his woman friend with him from England. He was trying to conceal the whole episode," something which he was able to accomplish as skillfully as he had done in England when his relatives and friends from India visited him there. Lal left for India in February of 1939 and promised to do what he could to see if permission could be granted Har Dayal to leave India after he had visited there. Others of Har Dayal's compatriots were also working in his behalf. They had known before he did that permission to return had been granted. Dharmavira recounts that he had collected some money for passage and sent it to Har Dayal in Philadelphia, asking him about his future plans. Har Dayal had replied: "A thought lurks in my mind that in Hindusthan it would be difficult to manage for my livelihood. Unemployment is already rampant among the educated there and I won't be able to find any work. But this concerns the future. . . ." As to a suggestion that he run for the Federal Assembly, Har Dayal said things like that could be decided later: "If there is any such zone from where no other candidate stands then you can put forth my name. But not on the ticket of any particular party."⁴⁰ Thus the matter rested, pending the other obligations which Har Dayal had cited.

One of the things that Har Dayal looked forward to as a result of being in the United States was a visit with Van Wyck Brooks and his wife. After an exchange of correspondence, a time was set, and Har Dayal journeyed to Westport, Connecticut, for the meeting. He came to spend the day, Brooks said, "sitting upright in his chair with a bunch of red roses in his hand for my wife and with the white teeth still gleaming in his dusky face. That week the government had given him permission to go home

again and he murmured, half incredulously, over and over, 'The road to India is open.' Ten days later, however, he was dead. At that moment he was only fifty-four years old, but his heart stopped in Philadelphia." Brooks then continued:

Thenceforward, whenever I met an Indian, I was always introduced as "The man who knew Har Dayal"; and his name occurred to me again ten years later, more or less, when I was presented to Jawaharlal Nehru. What could I possibly say that might interest this great man? Casting about for something, I heard myself uttering the phrase, "Do you remember Har Dayal?" and, with a wan smile, the great man said, "We *all* remember Har Dayal," though just how he was remembered I forebode to ask. The overtones of Nehru's reply seemed to speak volumes, and I reflected that some of these volumes I had read in California when Har Dayal and I were still in our twenties.⁴¹

Life ended for Har Dayal on March 4, 1939, when he had lived a little more than half of the hundred years he had strived for. Repeatedly he had said that even that would not be enough to accomplish all that he wanted to do. In his last months he evidently broadened his plans to include more travel, for he had requested visas to Egypt and New Zealand, where, he said, he was considering a lecture tour. His earlier applications for visas to Ceylon and Burma were turned down by those governments, and he died before the others could be processed. But clearly plans for a widespread lecture program were forming in Har Dayal's mind.

In fact his last activity was lecturing. Earlier on the night he died, he had conducted a class in meditation at the Ethical Culture Society. There, he reportedly concluded his address with the words, "I am peace with all."⁴² He was cremated at a simple service at which tributes were paid him by the devotees of the twelve religions he had singled out in his book. His ashes were taken to Sweden by Agda Erikson. She went first, however, to London and then to Chamonix, taking with her the young neighbor boy.

In London, A. F. Dawn called on Agda. She was, he said, heartbroken when she discovered that "an Indian wife existed that had married [Har Dayal] in one of those early Indian arrangements." Mr. Dawn also reported that in his will Har Dayal left everything but £200 to his Indian widow. "I think what broke her heart," he added, "was that so much of the joint home was probably contributed by her and no recognition of her in the will at all."⁴³

In Sweden, Agda Erikson settled in her native Kinnaström, but before long she was taken ill with a virulent case of influenza, which triggered a recurrence of tuberculosis: "I saw her once," Gillis Hammar said, "in November or December. She was very weak, but gay and brave, talked and laughed as usual. But on January 11, 1940, she died. Most of her

brothers and sisters are dead now, but there are some nieces and nephews left. I doubt, however, if they know much about her.”⁴⁴ As for Har Dayal’s family, Agda never really existed.

A short, three-paragraph article below the fold on page two of the *Evening Bulletin* of Philadelphia reported Har Dayal’s death. The lead story on the page was headlined. “GANDHI NEAR DEATH; VICEROY MAY AID.” This was about a fast in behalf of administrative reform in a princely state, where Har Dayal had often said reform could and must come. Elsewhere in the paper, a report of a Gallup poll showed that Americans wanted the Dies Committee (on un-American activities) to investigate foreign war propaganda in the country.⁴⁵ Shades of *Ghadr*.

For some unexplained reason it was almost a month before India newspapers carried the story of Har Dayal’s death, although it had been picked up and published by other newspapers, including the *New York Times*. When Gobind Behari Lal returned to New York in April of 1939, he had expected Har Dayal to meet him. It was only then that he learned of his death. The cry went out that the news of Har Dayal’s sudden death in Philadelphia was deliberately withheld and there were — and still are, for that matter — rumors that he had been poisoned by disaffected Sikhs. The strongest voice is that of Dharmavira, who, when he learned of Har Dayal’s death, said: “It is a theme worthy of an Ibsen raised to a higher power. Har Dayal just could not have died on a sick-bed. Martyrdom was the only way in which the significance of his life could have been completed.”⁴⁶ Har Dayal’s daughter, Shanti Narain, said that family members also thought there had been foul play because “it was all so sudden — he was all right when he went to bed but was found dead in the morning.” Then, later, one of his brothers died in the same way; another was signing a paper in court and died still holding the pen, and the third was out walking and collapsed on the road. “All four of those brothers died the same way: suddenly, very suddenly, from heart attacks.”

When the news of Har Dayal’s death was received in India, it did not go unnoticed. Most of the major newspapers devoted considerable space recounting his career, and enconium was heaped upon him. The *Modern Review*, to which he had contributed frequently in his earlier years, paid him, perhaps, the highest tribute, by reprinting in full, in the May, 1939, issue, his article, “The Social Conquest of the Hindu Race,” indeed a classic. The aged and ailing C. F. Andrews — the great English Christian missionary — was moved to write from his sickbed: “He was one of India’s noblest children and in happier times would have done wonders with his gigantic intellectual powers. For his mind was one of the greatest I have ever known and his character also was true and pure.”⁴⁷

There was one more tribute not to be forgotten: the only music at the funeral service was the singing of *Bande Mataram*.



Having repudiated in its totality the movement which bore his name, Har Dayal (right) spoke at a dinner held in New York in January, 1939, by the "Friends of the Duke of Windsor in America." At left is Lewis Stuyvesant Chanler, and in center, Rev. Christian F. Reisner.

NOTES

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INTRODUCTION

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CHAPTER 1

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CHAPTER 5

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CHAPTER 6

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- ²⁹ Home Department, Political, File No. 24/12/37, 1937, NAI.
- ³⁰ *The Tribune* (Lahore), September 19, 1937.
- ³¹ Home Department, Political, File No. 28/7/38, 1938, NAI.
- ³² Dharmavira, *Lala Har Dayal and Revolutionary Movements of His Times*, p. 250.
- ³³ *The Evening Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), March 6, 1939, 14:5.
- ³⁴ Post card mailed to Van Wyck Brooks, postmarked November 7, 1938, *loc. cit.*
- ³⁵ For the English edition: see Konrad Lorenz, *On Aggression*, trans. Marjorie Kerr Wilson (New York: Harcourt, Brace & World, Inc., 1966).
- ³⁶ *The Evening Public Ledger* (Philadelphia), February 8, 1939, 2:2.
- ³⁷ Mirza Ahmad Sohrab, ed., *The Bible of Mankind* (New York: Universal Publishing Co., 1939), pp. 145-46.
- ³⁸ *New History*, VIII (April 1939), facing 1.
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- ⁴⁴ *Ibid.*
- ⁴⁵ *The Evening Bulletin* (Philadelphia), March 6, 1939, 2:1.
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